

Lynchings and What They Mean

General Findings
of the
Southern Commission on the Study of
Lynching

Personnel of Commission

George Fort Milton, *Chairman*

Julian Harris

W. J. McGlothlin

John Hope

R. R. Moton

Benjamin F. Hubert

Howard W. Odum

Charles S. Johnson

Alex W. Spence

W. P. King

Monroe Work

W. W. Alexander, *ex officio*

W. C. Jackson, *ex officio*

Lynchings and What They Mean

*Pioneering
study,
w/ map
in back*

General Findings
of the
Southern Commission on the Study of
Lynching

Published by
THE COMMISSION
703 Standard Building
Atlanta, Ga.

25 Cents Per Copy

HV
6457
.56

2022.8.1

TABLE OF CONTENTS



I	INTRODUCTION	5
II	GENERAL ASPECTS OF LYNCHINGS IN RECENT DECADES	8
	Marked Decrease in Number of Lynchings, 8; Decrease Least Rapid in Southern States, 8; Racial Aspects of Lynching More Evident, 10; Lynchings Most Prevalent in Summer Months, 10; Negroes Safest Per Ten Thou- sand From Mob Death in Old Black Belt Counties, 12; Negroes in Greatest Danger Per Ten Thousand in Latest Developed Areas, 13; Mob Murders Relatively Most Common in Sparsely Settled Areas, 13; Peace-Officers and Jailers in Relation to Mob Deaths, 14.	
III	LYNCHINGS AND THE GENERAL CRIME SITUATION	15
	Crime and Criminals by Race, 15; Some Reasons for High Crime Rate Among Negroes, 16; Courts Not Lenient with Negro Criminals, 18; Accusations Against Persons Lynched, 19; One-Sixth of Lynchings for Al- leged Crimes Against Women, 19; "Burnt Cork and Crime", 21; Contributions of Negroes Toward Eradica- tion of Lynching, 22; Primary Responsibility for Eradi- cation of Lynchings on Whites, 23.	
IV	SOME OBSERVATIONS OF LYNCHINGS IN LAST DECADES	24
	Lynchings Contagious, 24; Tendency of Lynchings to Provide Immediate Local Immunity, 24; Punishment of Lynchings, 25; Frustration of Many Threatened Lyn- chings, 25; Threatened Lynchings Prevented in Recent Months, 25; Many Counties Without Lynchings Since 1900, 28; Lynchings in Unexpected Places, 28.	

V SOME FACTS ABOUT THE TWENTY-ONE
LYNCHINGS IN 1930 29

Location and General Characteristics of Counties Involved, 29; Poorer Counties the Scene of Most Lynchings, 31; Facts About Persons Lynched in 1930, 32; The Alleged Crimes, 33; Probable Guilt of 1930 Mob Victims, 35; Apprehension of Lynchers Not Difficult, 36; Some Facts About Known Lynchers, 36; A Few Leading Whites Among Lynchers, 37; Women and Children in Mobs, 38.

VI MOBS IN ACTION 40

Some Doings of 1930 Mobs, 40; Some Characteristics of Mob Mind, 41; Assumptions of Lynchers, 42; Man-Hunt Tradition and How It Operates, 42; Selective Process Inherent in Man Hunt, 43; Onlookers Not Guiltless, 43.

VII PEACE-OFFICERS, POLITICS AND NATIONAL
GUARD 44

A Representative Attitude of Peace-Officers, 44; Two Proud Sheriffs, 44; Without Benefit of Sheriff, 45; Activities of Officers in Relation to Whites as Voters, 45; Political Impotence of Negroes a Factor, 46; Outside Peace-Officers a Problem, 46; National Guard Not Always Effective, 47; "County Rights" as Related to Use and Effectiveness of National Guard, 47.

VIII WHAT THE COURTS HAVE DONE ABOUT
1930 LYNCHINGS 49

Lynchers Usually Unmolested by Local Courts, 49; No Effective Assistance from State Officials, 49; Proceedings by Alabama Governor Against Officers Who Permitted Lynching, 50; Some Reasons Why Lynchers Go Unpunished, 50; The Natural History of "Legal Lynching", 52.

IX OPPONENTS OF LYNCHING SURPRISED AND
COMPROMISED 53

Lynchings as Surprises to Leading White Citizens, 53; The Pressure for Conformity, 53; "The Sooner Forgotten the Better", 54; No Community-wide Effort to Punish Lynchers, 54; Negroes, Too, Compromised into Silence, 55.

X	INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS LOOK AT LYNCHINGS	56
	Apologists for Lynchings, 56; A Vicious Protection Dogma, 56; Nominal Opposition to Lynchings by Many South-wide Organizations, 56; Local Churches and Local Lynchings, 57; Attitudes of Large and Small Churches to Lynchings, 57; The Church's Opportunity, 58; Strategic Positions of Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist Denominations, 59; Church Press on Lynching, 59; Reactions of Daily and Weekly Newspapers, 59; Contrasts of White and Negro Press, 60.	
XI	THE PRICE WE PAY	61
	Citizenship Debased by Lynching, 61; Ethical Costs of Lynching, 61; Lynchings and Race Relations, 61; Direct and Indirect Financial Losses, 62.	
XII	SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FURTHER REDUCTION AND ERADICATION OF LYNCHINGS	63
	Additional Legislation, 63; Practical Measures for Preventing and Dispersing Mobs, 63; Public Opinion the Ultimate Deterrent, 64; In Conclusion, 64.	
XIII	APPENDIX	67
	The Twenty-One Lynchings in 1930, 67; Lynchings in First Ten Months of 1931, 69; Threatened Lynchings Prevented 1930-October 1, 1931, 69; Table I—Lynchings, Whites and Negroes, 1889-1929, 73; Table II—Lynchings, Per Ten Thousand Population, 1900-1929, 74; Table III—Accusations Against Persons Lynched, 1889-1929, 75; Table IV—Lynchings and Preventions of Reported Threatened Lynchings, 1914-1929, 76.	

I. INTRODUCTION

The lynching record of 1930, disclosing as many deaths by mob violence as had occurred in the two preceding years combined, gave great concern to liberal Southern leadership. For many years the number of these outrages against civilized society had been on the decline. What was the meaning of this reversal of the recent trend? Southern students of social problems, leading ministers, lawyers, educators, editors and business men were disturbed over the situation. After having been on the decline for thirty years, could it be that lynch law was taking on new life? What were the causes of this extraordinary outburst of jungle law? Was it but another concomitant of the economic emergency, or was the correspondence between the two merely accidental?

Among the groups viewing the phenomena with the greatest concern was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. After mature thought, the directors of this organization decided upon two definite projects to meet the situation.

First, it took steps to revive and revitalize the effort of Southern white women to reduce lynchings by denouncing the mob as a false protector of Southern womanhood. Thereupon the Southern Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching came into being, and state organizations were set up throughout the South.* Decrying the mob as a reversion to barbarism, leading white women re-emphasized the fact that Southern womanhood depends for its protection upon officers and courts, and not upon the mob.

This step, however, was directed to the immediate revitalization of an effective anti-lynching sentiment. Important as such work is, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation felt that the fundamental need was for a better understanding of the causes underlying the resort to mob violence. If careful study could reveal the psychology of mobs, and ascertain some common threads in the lynching pattern, it should then be an easier task to plan effective preventive steps. With this in mind, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation determined to sponsor a special Southern commission for the study of lynchings. Leaders of both races in the South were consulted as to the practical value of such an inquiry. The universal response was that it was not only desirable but mandatory. Thereupon, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation appointed a special group to make the study under the title of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching.

*For information about the work of the Southern Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching, write Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, 703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

Members of the Commission are: Julian Harris, News Director of *The Atlanta Constitution*; Dr. John Hope, President of Atlanta University; Dr. Benjamin F. Hubert, President of Georgia State College; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Department of Social Science, Fisk University; George Fort Milton, President and Editor of the *Chattanooga News*; Dr. W. P. King, Book Editor of the M. E. Church, South; Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, President of Furman University and of the Southern Baptist Convention; Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina; Alex W. Spence, lawyer, of Dallas, Texas; and Dr. Monroe Work, of the Research Department of Tuskegee Institute. Dr. W. C. Jackson, Vice-President of North Carolina College for Women, and Chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, Executive Director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, are ex-officio members. George Fort Milton was made chairman.

The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching has been at work since July 1930, giving close attention and careful thought to the main problem concerned, as well as to the many collateral inquiries involved. At the initial meeting, in Atlanta, September 5, 1930, it was determined to make exhaustive case studies of all lynchings occurring in the United States in the calendar year 1930. Dr. Arthur Raper, of the staff of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and Professor Walter Chivers, of the Sociology Department of Morehouse College, were placed in charge of the field work, which began at once.

The investigators* were directed to make report upon a wide variety of related lynching questions. Not only were they to ascertain the circumstances surrounding the crime, real or alleged, as a result of which the lynching occurred, and to report the details of the lynching itself, but also to furnish an adequate picture of the general environment, including economic backgrounds, social patterns and the prevalent community psychology. Variations in community conditions and lynching circumstances were to be set forth. All members of the Commission and its staff began to collect data and to interpret their significance.

During the late summer and fall of 1930 and the first six months of 1931, meetings were held, case studies prepared and presented, and all available means employed for collecting and analyzing the facts. At a meeting in Chattanooga on July 20, the Commission determined to give to the public a report setting forth and interpreting the essential facts discovered, and to seek for this report the widest possible dissemination. To this end four means

*Doctor Raper and Professor Chivers were assisted by Dr. and Mrs. J. J. Rhyne, of the University of Oklahoma, who investigated the Chickasha lynching; Mr. R. B. Eleazer, who investigated the lynching at Walhalla; Mr. N. C. Young, who made a report on the lynching at Tarboro, and Mr. Orland Kay Armstrong, who made a detailed study of the lynching at Maryville, Missouri.

were decided upon: Succinct abstract for newspaper use; a pamphlet for general distribution; articles in national magazines; and publication of a source book of detailed case studies.

At this meeting the Commission considered also the evolving *cause celebre* at Scottsboro, Alabama, to which some attention had been given previously, and directed its staff to make further studies to determine whether the Commission could in any way facilitate the ends of justice in this case. Pursuant to these instructions, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has continued its work on this case, and preliminary reports indicate that progress is being made.

Among other phases of the general lynching problem, which the Commission has undertaken to study, has been that of its legal aspects. For this purpose, a special section has been set up with an advisory committee of Southern law school deans. The specific study for this Commission of Law School Deans is being made by the University of North Carolina School of Law, with James H. Chadbourn as Research Secretary working under the immediate supervision of Dean Van Hecke and his faculty.

Investigations in this particular field include collecting statutes, ascertaining the effectiveness of existing laws, and in cases of failure seeking to determine the points at which the legal machinery breaks down. The report of this legal study will be made at a later date, and it is hoped that a model anti-lynching statute can be presented for public consideration.

This present pamphlet is presented with the earnest hope that a people better informed as to the facts of lynching, and the economic, social and mental factors involved, will cooperate to the utmost in the complete elimination of these assaults upon civilized society. With a real hope that men need not revert to the jungle, and that society can and will compel orderly procedures in racial as in other relationships, the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching presents this report of lynchings, their causes, circumstances and consequences.

GEORGE FORT MILTON.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Nov. 10, 1931.

II. GENERAL ASPECTS OF LYNCHING IN RECENT DECADES

Three thousand seven hundred and three people were lynched in the United States from 1889 through 1929.* There were twenty-one lynchings in 1930, and to date (September 15) nine have occurred in 1931.

Marked Decrease in Number of Lynchings. Though mob murders are still common in some parts of the United States, and though recent events indicate that lynchings may happen almost anywhere in the States, the number of lynchings has decreased markedly during recent decades. From 1889 through 1899, the average number of persons lynched each year was 187.5; from 1900 through 1909 the average was 92.5; from 1910 through 1919, 61.9; from 1920 through 1924, 46.2; from 1925 through 1929, 16.8.**

Decrease Least Rapid in Southern States. The number of persons lynched in the fourteen Southern States (in which are included the border states of Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and Oklahoma), decreased from an annual average of 138.4 for the period 1889 through 1899, to 57.7 for the first three decades of the new century. In the rest of the United States, there was an average of 29.1 lynchings each year between 1889 and 1899, while for the thirty years ending with 1929 the yearly average dropped to 4.2. Thus we see that while in the Southern States the yearly average since 1900 was a little less than half that between 1889 and 1899, in the remainder of the United States the rate was scarcely a seventh as high as in the last years of the last century.

Since the proportional decrease in lynchings has been less in the South, the South's proportion of all lynchings has shown a marked increase. From 1889 through 1899, approximately 82 per cent of all lynchings in the United States were in the fourteen Southern States; during the first decade of the new century, 91.9 per cent were in these states; during the second decade, 94.4 per cent; from 1920 through 1924, 95.3 per cent; and for the five-year period ending with 1929, 97.4 per cent of all lynchings in the United States were in these fourteen States.

Since 1889 Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, and Louisiana have had the largest numbers of lynchings, with 465, 464, 364, and 349 respec-

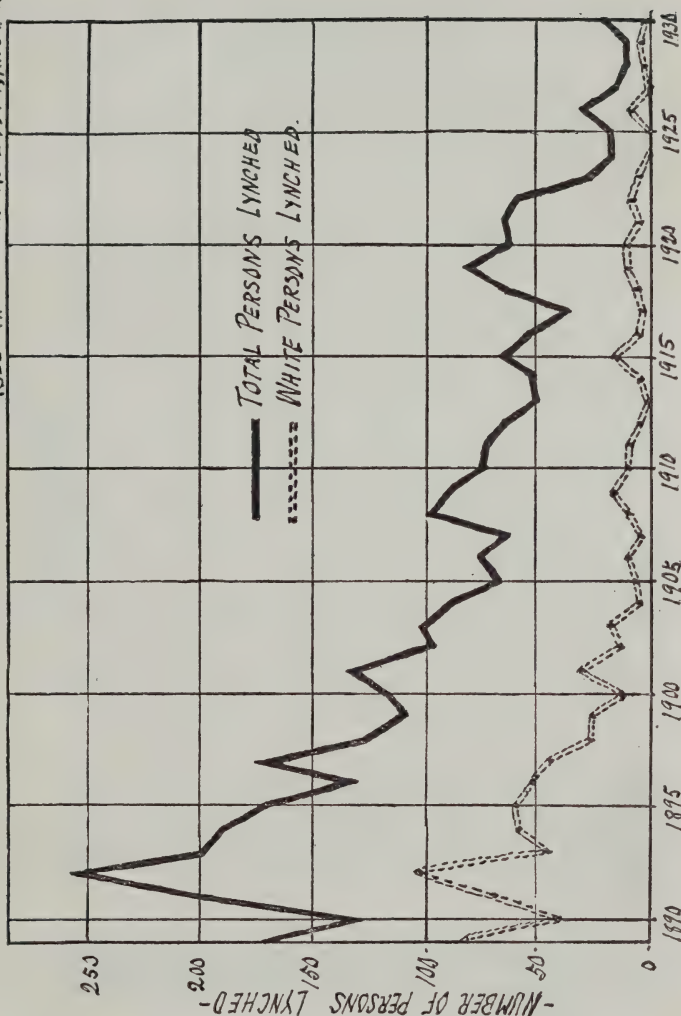
*See "Negro Year Book, 1931-1932," and earlier editions of Year Book for source of quantitative data on lynchings appearing in this report.

**See Table I in Appendix of this report.

LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

1889-1930

DATA FROM NEGRO YEAR BOOK 1931-1932-
(SEE TABLE I IN APPENDIX, THIS REPORT)



tively. However, the lynching rate per ten thousand Negro population is considerably higher for Florida, Oklahoma, and Arkansas than for either of the four states mentioned.*

Racial Aspects of Lynching More Evident. Coincident with the decrease in the number of lynchings has been the tendency to a relatively greater decrease of white mob victims. Of the 3,703 persons lynched in the United States from 1889 through 1929, 787, or 21.3 per cent were white.** Between 1889 and 1899, 32.2 per cent of all persons lynched were white; in the first decade in the new century, 11.4 per cent were white; in the second decade, 8.9 per cent; between 1920 and 1924, 10 per cent and from 1925 through 1929, 13.2 per cent. In 1930 only one, or 4.8 per cent of the twenty-one persons lynched, was white.*** The decrease in the proportion of white persons lynched is a corollary of the fact that lynchings are decreasing more rapidly outside of than in the South.

During the forty-one year period ending with 1929, 85.4 per cent of the 3,261 persons lynched in the South were Negroes. Of the 442 persons lynched outside of the South during this period, 137, or a little less than one-third, were Negroes. Of the Negroes lynched outside the South, 93, or more than two-thirds, were in the six states—Maryland, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kansas—which lie immediately north of the Southern States, and throughout the years have received from the South large numbers of white and Negro migrants.

Approximately 90 per cent of the persons lynched in the South during the last three decades were Negroes. If Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma be excluded, states where many Mexicans have met death at the hands of mobs, the percentage would be nearly 95 per cent Negro. Among the remaining small number of white persons lynched in the South were several foreigners. It is obvious therefore that lynching is becoming more and more a Southern phenomenon, and a racial one. In the typical lynching the victim is a Negro and the lynchers are native-born whites.

Lynchings Most Prevalent in Summer Months. More lynchings occur in the summer months than in either spring, fall or winter.**** Some Negroes as well as whites, who are close to the situation, feel that there is a relation between the weather and crimes against the person, and a consequent relation between the weather and resort to lynch-law.

*See Table II in Appendix.

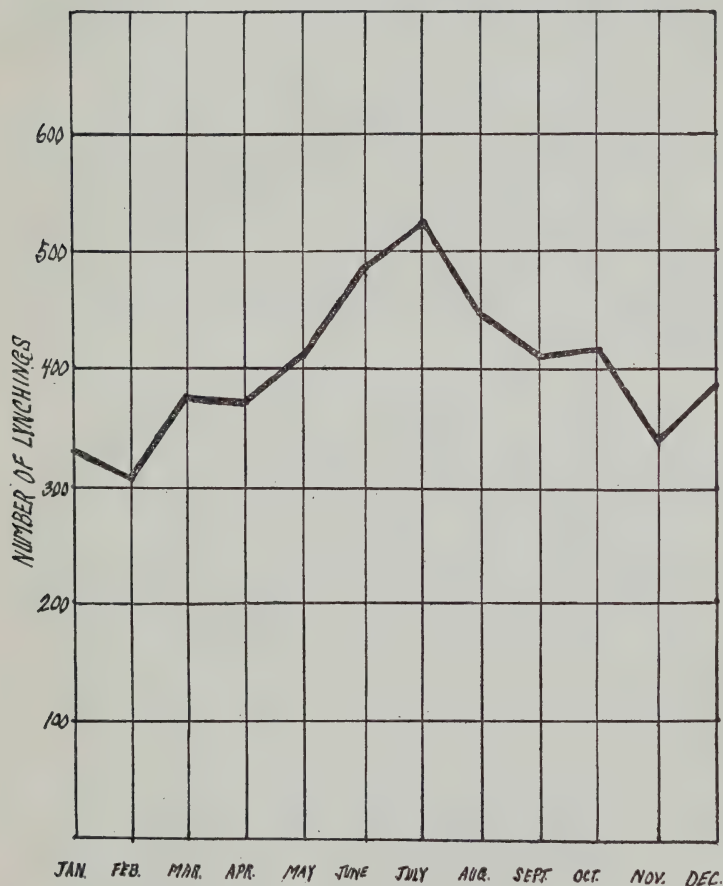
**J. E. Cutler reports in his "Lynch Law" (New York, 1905) that more than half of the persons lynched prior to 1860 were white, and that since the end of the Civil War the proportion of Negro victims has been on the increase.

***See Table I in Appendix.

****In Roy Steelman's MSS, "The Study of Mob Action in the South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1929), appears the record of lynchings from 1882-1928 by months: January 332, February 308, March 367, April 364, May 412, June 485, July 523, August 444, September 412, October 416, November 340, and December 387.

LYNCHINGS BY MONTHS 1882-1928

(See data in footnote, page 10.)



Working and living out of doors in warm weather, mid-summer unemployment, landlord-tenant relations in summer, and other factors greatly modify any all-weather explanation. With the coming of warm weather, the majority of the farm folks work out of doors, the members of the family often being scattered over the fields at different tasks.

During the midsummer months, after cultivating is done and before harvesting begins, there is little to occupy the time of Negro and white workers* on Southern farms, nearly two-thirds of whom are wage hands or tenants. During the slack-work summer months, there is a great deal of visiting, loafing, gambling, and general "carousing about", and inevitably an unusually large amount of crime.

Then, too, the relations between landlords and tenants in summer account for an unusually large amount of major strife. During the winter, the tenant is disposed to conduct himself so as to get a "place" for the coming year. With summer, the tenant has received about all he can get from the landlord, and often owes the latter practically all his equity in the crop, a situation which tends to lessen the tenant's industry. Furthermore, the landlord must exercise minute supervision to get his money out of the crop. Thus in summer, tenants are likely to be more hopeless and antagonistic and the landlords and their overseers more domineering, than at other periods of the year.

Negroes Safest Per Ten Thousand From Mob Death in Old Black Belt Counties.** Statistically, per ten thousand population Negroes are safer from mob deaths in the old Black Belt, where more than half of the population is Negro, than anywhere else in the South. They are relatively less safe in counties with from one-fourth to one-half Negro population, while per ten thousand Negro population they are in the greatest danger from mobs in counties where the proportion of Negroes is less than one-fourth.

In the Black Belt race relations revolve about the plantation system, under which Negro tenants and wage hands are practically indispensable. Here the variant economic and cultural levels of the mass of whites and the mass of Negroes are well defined, and far removed. Another factor is the purely statistical logic that the heavier the Negro majority the fewer the whites, and thus the fewer the occasions for conflict and the fewer the whites to take part in mobs.

In contrast with the Black Belt are the Southern counties with less than one-fourth of the population Negroes. Here, in the open country, the proportion of Negro farmers who own land is greater than in the Black Belt counties and the proportion of whites who own land is less. This fact makes for a sense of competition. In the towns, too, Negroes and whites are more nearly on a competitive

*The idle and unemployed make up the bulk of most mobs. See pp. 42-43.

**See Table II in Appendix.

basis, and the employment of Negroes is looked upon as the cause of white unemployment. Moreover, many of the whites in these counties have inherited a prejudice against the Negro from ante-bellum days when the slave plantation system excluded the poorer whites from the richest portions of the South. Political leaders, and to some extent religious leaders, have kept alive this inherited attitude.

Counties with from one-fourth to one-half Negroes occupy a place midway between the two extremes. For example, there were 2.4 lynchings per ten thousand Negro population in Mississippi between 1900 and 1930. In the thirty-six Mississippi Black Belt counties the rate was but 2.1 per ten thousand; in the thirty counties with one-fourth to one-half Negroes, 2.9; and in the eighteen counties with less than one-fourth Negroes, 3.9. Like ratios obtain in each of the Southern States.

The lynching rate per ten thousand Negroes for the fourteen Southern States for the thirty-year period was 1.84; the rate was 1.64 for the 235 Black Belt counties; 1.71 for the 345 counties with one-fourth to one-half Negro population, and 2.44 for the 848 counties with less than one-fourth Negro population. To put it another way, the Black Belt counties, with 38.1 per cent of the total Negro population of the South, had 33.8 per cent of the lynchings; the counties with between one-fourth and one-half Negro population, with 39.5 per cent of the Negro population, had 36.6 per cent of the lynchings; while the counties of less than one fourth Negro population, with 22.4 per cent of the Negro population in the South, had 29.6 per cent of all lynchings in the South.

Negroes in Greatest Danger Per Ten Thousand in Areas Last Developed. Florida, with its phenomenal population growth in recent decades, shows a lynching rate of 4.5 per ten thousand Negro population during the 1900-1930 period, a rate nearly twice as high as that for either Mississippi, Georgia, or Louisiana, more than three times the rate for Alabama, and six times the rate for South Carolina. Other Southern States where the Negro's life has been least secure from the mob include Oklahoma, with a rate of 3.9; Arkansas, 2.9; and Texas, 2.5*.

Mob Murders Relatively Most Common in Sparsely Settled Areas. Persons are in greatest danger from mob death in the sparsely settled rural counties of the South. There is a direct correlation between the smallness of the population per county and the rate of lynchings, the rate being highest in the counties with the fewest inhabitants and lowest in the most populous counties. This fact is shown by the following table:

*Numerous writers have discussed the relation of the numerical strength of racial elements and racial antagonisms. Years ago, A. H. Stone pointed out that racial strife in Southern communities tends to decrease in areas where the proportion of Negroes was on the decline, and increase where the Negro population was increasing faster than the white population. See Table II in Appendix.

Lynchings Per Ten Thousand Population in Fourteen Southern States over Thirty-Year Period*

Counties of less than 10,000 population.....	3.2
10,000- 20,000 population.....	2.4
20,000- 30,000 population.....	2.1
30,000- 40,000 population.....	1.7
40,000- 50,000 population.....	2.4
50,000-100,000 population.....	1.0
100,000-200,000 population.....	0.6
200,000-300,000 population.....	0.3
300,000 and over.....	0.05

It will be observed that an inhabitant in the South's most sparsely populated two hundred and fifty counties is in sixty times as much danger of mob death as a person living in or near one of the South's half-dozen largest cities.

The higher lynching rate in the sparsely populated counties seems due to inadequate local police protection, and the disinclination of peace-officers, court officials, or citizens to request outside assistance. The general public accepts and relies upon the man-hunt tradition and the lynching custom. The meagre political responsibility of the white tenant and the Negro's political impotence in most rural counties merely aggravate the governmental inadequacies inherent in small populations and limited taxable resources.

Peace Officers and Jailers in Relation to Mob Deaths. Of the 254 persons lynched from 1921 through 1929, 112 or 44.1 per cent never came into the custody of the law. An additional 74, or 29.1 per cent were taken from peace-officers outside of the jails, while the remaining 68, or 26.8 per cent, were taken from the jails. In sparsely settled counties the accused were more generally lynched without having come into the custody of the law; in the counties with good-sized towns the victims were more often taken from the jail. This emphasizes the inadequacies of police protection in the sparsely settled areas,** where officers are farthest apart, poorest paid, and most directly dependent for their jobs upon local sentiment.

*See Earle F. Young's article in "Sociology and Social Research," March-April, 1928 (Vol. XII, No. 4).

**Southern rural communities are generally known to be least policed of any communities in the United States.

III. LYNCHINGS AND THE GENERAL CRIME SITUATION

Crime and Criminals by Race. Figures from the United States Census Bureau and from the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement indicate that no one racial element has a monopoly on crime in general or on any particular type of crime. However, it is generally known that crime rates are higher among some racial and national groups than among others. Of the larger population groupings the highest rates occur among the Negroes, although some elements of the Negro population are more law-abiding than native-born whites in general.

In his "Black Yeomanry", Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., describing life on St. Helena Island, off the South Carolina coast, where the population is almost entirely Negro, tells us that crime is practically unknown. Throughout the South there are Negro farm and urban communities known for their relative freedom from crime. Other Negro rural and urban communities are notoriously criminal. In 1921-22, the homicide rates in Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, and New Orleans per 100,000 Negro population were 103.2, 97.2, 116.9, and 46.7 respectively, while the corresponding rates for the white population were 15.0, 28.0, 29.6 and 8.4.* The geographic distribution of homicides in each of these cities showed marked concentrations in certain communities, with others practically immune. The highest crime rates among both Negroes and whites usually occur at the lowest economic levels. In some localities of the South with excessive white farm tenancy and in some city slums the crime rate among native-born whites is two or three times that of the state-wide rate for native-born whites.

On the basis of prison commitment figures for 1910, 1923, 1926, and 1927,** the Negro crime rate appears to be nearly three times that of the native-born white. In 1923, from the native-born white adults (persons over 18 years of age), making up 70 per cent of the adult population of the United States, came 54.4 per cent of the people committed to prisons; from the foreign-born adult population, comprising 19.4 per cent of the adult population, came 18.7 per cent of commitments; and from the Negro adults, making up 9.3 per cent of the adult population, came 23.3 per cent of all prison

*"A Study of Violent Deaths Registered in Cities of Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, and New Orleans for the years 1921-22," by J. J. Durrett and W. G. Stromquist. According to detailed data presented by the National Commission on Law Observance and Law Enforcement in its Report Number 10, the Negroes of Detroit, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Buffalo (Table V, P. 116), and other places both North and South are much more lawless than native-born or foreign-born whites.

**"Prisoners in State and Federal Prisons and Reformatories"; United States Census Bureau pamphlets.

commitments. In 1927, Negro commitments had dropped to 21.4 per cent of all commitments and foreign-born to 7.9 per cent, while the native-born white commitments accounted for 67.9 per cent of the total. The low percentage of crime attributable to the foreign-born is due not only to the decrease in immigration, but also to a lower crime rate for foreign-born than native-born.*

There is evidence that Negro crime is decreasing slightly, whereas crime among the native-born white element is increasing. Studies of the prison population, court records, and jail commitments in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and other Southern States provide evidence of this fact.** Though there are a few communities in the Southern States where the jail commitment rate for the white population now exceeds that of the Negro, the Negro rate is usually from two to four times that of the white.

Some Reasons for High Crime Rate Among Negroes. As throwing light upon the Negro's crime rate a number of factors should be considered—the meager allocation of public funds for Negro education and institutional care, general economic and cultural conditions, the practical disfranchisement of the mass of Negroes, the inadequate police protection provided in Negro communities, and various phases of the racial situation.

In comparison with the white child, the Negro child is generally afforded very inadequate educational opportunities. In hundreds of counties in the South, from ten to twenty times—and in some instances more than thirty times—as much is allocated per white as per Negro child. A writer in "The Annals"*** of November, 1928, gives the following average expenditures per white and Negro child of school age:

	White	Negro
Alabama	\$26.57	\$ 3.81
Arkansas	13.36	6.48
Florida	42.01	7.33
Georgia	25.84	5.78
Kentucky	16.60	15.40
Louisiana	33.73	5.48
Mississippi	25.95	5.62
North Carolina	25.31	7.52
South Carolina	27.88	2.74
Tennessee	21.02	11.88
Texas	31.77	20.24
Virginia	40.27	10.47

*See Report Number 10 of the National Commission on Law Observance and Law Enforcement.

**See especially studies made by Hugh Fuller for the Georgia Department of Public Welfare and the University of Virginia; H. C. Brearley's Study on Crime in South Carolina; J. F. Steiner and Roy M. Brown and Associates, Institute of Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, and the reports of Public Welfare Departments and State Prison Boards of the Southern States.

***"The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," Philadelphia, November, 1928, Publication No. 2199.

A later exhibit giving the per capita expenditures per child enrolled shows similar disparities.* These figures inevitably mean that the pay of Negro teachers is small and their preparation often poor.

The slavery backgrounds of present economic conditions in the South are well understood. The rural Negro was ushered out of slavery into the role of farm wagehand and propertyless farm tenant, and many of the pre-existent patterns of servitude, though modified considerably, still persist. Generally, where both Negro and white workmen are used, the Negro is hired last and fired first. Negro workmen usually receive lower wages for the same work, and accept without investigation or protest the settlements made by white landlords and employers. These are all merely aspects of the general economic dependency of the Negro in both rural and urban communities.

Figures on unemployment from the Russell Sage Foundation and the Urban League, and data from community chests and business commissions throughout the nation indicate that the proportion of Negroes unemployed is higher than that of the whites, in many places being two and three times that of the whites. While the major proportion of Negro unemployment is due to the discontinuance of their jobs, some Negroes have been discharged and whites hired in their stead.

The political situation, which does not encourage and often prevents Negro participation in local government, leaves the Negro largely dependent upon those who make and execute the laws. The majority of Negroes refer to the police as "the law", and to the courts as the "white man's court". As a natural consequence Negroes assume little community responsibility. All this inevitably affects the crime rate unfavorably. Undoubtedly three-score years of Negro public education, the amassing of considerable wealth, and the establishment of cultural institutions have prepared Negroes for a larger responsibility in community affairs.

The Southern states have generally made inadequate institutional provisions for Negro dependents, juvenile delinquents, feeble-minded and mentally deranged. As a result, many dangerous Negroes have been left at large who should have been placed in such institutions. Confinement of hopelessly defective mental types would have prevented the occurrence of at least two of the crimes which resulted in Negroes being lynched in 1930. Proper care of hopelessly defective Negroes is an essential part of any practical program for lessening Negro crime. Studies of juvenile delinquency show that the opening of supervised parks and playgrounds in the cheap rent area leads to an immediate reduction of delinquency.

The generally more adequate police protection afforded whites when molested by Negroes than afforded Negroes when molested by

*See "Financing Schools in the South," by Prof. Fred McCuiston, the Rosenwald Fund, Nashville, Tenn.

whites accounts for many of the Negro's major crimes of violence against white people, for not infrequently the Negro, feeling that he does not have proper protection from the police authorities, attempts to protect himself.

Inadequate police protection is provided in Negro communities, and it is the common practice of court officials to deal lightly with Negro criminals accused of crime against members of their own race. For example, in Bolivar County, Mississippi, the murder of Negroes by Negroes has been common; yet not until last year was a Negro ever given the death sentence for this offense. On the other hand the death penalty is invariable when a Negro kills a white man. Generally speaking, sheriffs, police officers, and courts, while dealing sternly with Negroes accused of crimes against white people and their property, have often winked at crime within the Negro community. Southern leaders, both white and Negro, feel strongly that the inadequate police protection provided for Negro communities virtually breeds crime. Negroes are allowed, without interference, to commit crimes on one another which, when committed against white people, result in severe court sentences, if not in death at the hands of a mob. In some communities Negro policemen have proven a real deterrent to Negro crime.

Various phases of the general racial situation affect the Negro's higher crime rate. The public's low estimate of his worth and consequent indifference to his fate, the ready assumption of his guilt, his ignorance of court procedure, his lack of money and friends and political influence, all make his arrest and conviction easier than that of the white man. In a large measure these are the same factors that produce lynchings.

Courts Not Lenient With Negro Criminals. Data secured from the superintendents of state prison systems and wardens of penitentiaries of Southern states for the eighteen-month period ending July 1, 1931, demonstrate conclusively that Negro criminals brought before the courts are not dealt with leniently. In ten Southern states,* between January 1, 1930 and July 1, 1931, sixty-eight Negroes were executed: 57 for murder, 8 for rape, and 3 for burglary and other crimes. During this same period in twelve Southern states,** 470 Negroes received life sentences from the courts: 425 for murder, 20 for rape, and 25 for burglary and other offenses.***

Lynchers cannot justify their actions on the ground that unless they dispose of the accused Negro, the courts will likely dismiss

*Detailed information on death sentences is not available for Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, and Missouri.

**Information on life sentences not available for Texas and Tennessee.

***In the ten states where sixty-eight Negroes were executed during the eighteen-month period, thirteen whites were executed, all convicted of murder; in the twelve States in which 470 Negroes were given life sentences, 199 whites received life sentences, 192 being convicted of murder, six of rape, and one of burglary. Numerous crime studies present data showing that for the same type of crimes Negroes more often receive death sentences than whites. For minor offenses, too, the sentences of Negroes are often greater than for whites.

the case or treat it lightly.* The facts show conclusively that Negroes accused of capital crimes receive severe treatment from the courts.

Accusations Against Persons Lynched.** Of the 3,693 mob victims between 1889 and 1929 in the United States,*** 1,394 or 37.7 per cent were accused of murder, 214 or 5.8 per cent of felonious assaults, 614 or 16.7 per cent of rape, 247 or 6.7 per cent of attempted rape, 264 or 7.1 per cent of theft, 66 or 1.8 per cent of insult to white person, and 894 or 24.2 per cent accused of all other offenses.****

It is notable that no accusation had been made against S. S. Mincey, lynched at Ailey, Georgia in 1930, other than that he had been too active in his opposition to the county "lily white" Republican organization. There was no accusation against Lacy Mitchell, lynched near Thomasville, Georgia, 1930, other than that he was the star witness against two white boys charged with raping a Negro woman. In the cases of several others lynched in 1930 there is grave doubt whether they were guilty of the crimes of which they were accused.*****

One-Sixth of Lynchings for Alleged Crimes Against Women. Only one-sixth of the mob victims between 1889 and 1929 were accused of rape. The accusations of rape and attempted rape combined accounted for less than one-fourth of the lynchings, and investigations after the lynchings often proved these accusations to have been unfounded. In some cases the charges were fabrications of white persons attempting to mask their own faults. In others, these accusations were advanced by lynchers to absolve themselves from community blame.

Many Negroes accused of rape or attempted rape, and saved from mobs by courageous peace-officers or other means have been acquitted by the courts. In some cases, girls and women who had

*It should be observed, too, that no persons can be lynched without first having been caught and taken in hand. Any group which can execute a lynching could place the accused in the custody of the sheriff and other police officers.

**See Table III in Appendix.

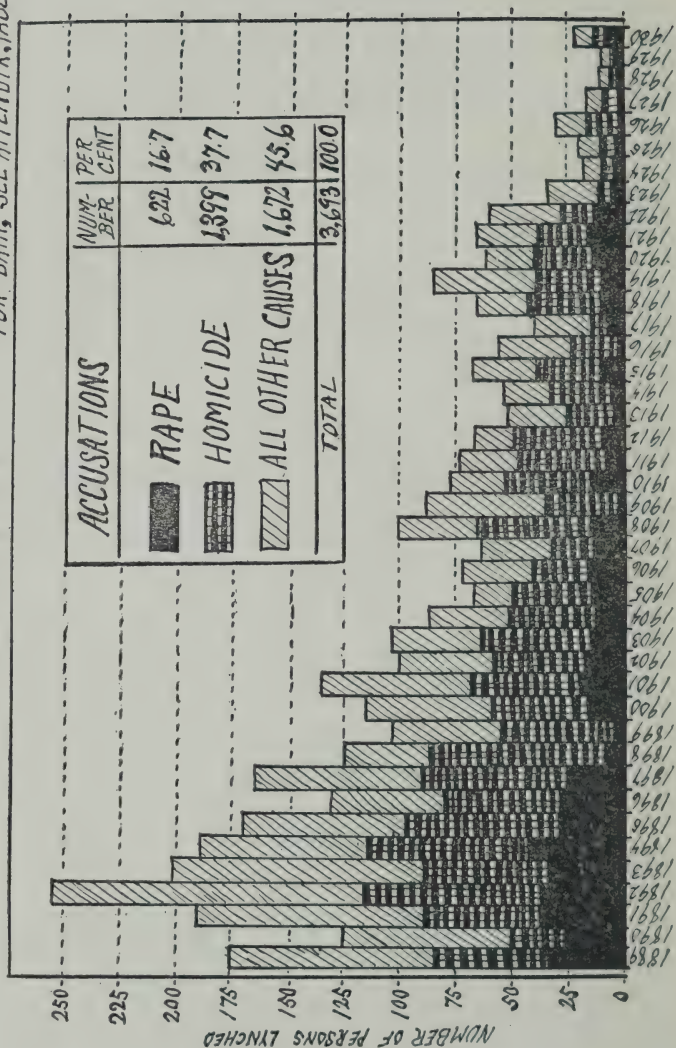
***Whereas Tuskegee records show 3,703 persons lynched between 1889 and 1929 when reporting lynchings by years, but 3,693 are shown when lynchings are reported by causes.

****The following accusations appear among the "all other causes" for which persons were lynched: Inciting racial troubles, bringing suit against white men, frightening school children, operating house of ill-fame from which two white girls were taken, trying to act like a white man, refusal to pay note, seeking employment in restaurant, forcing white boy to commit crime, expressing sympathy with murder of white men, participating in fight between white and Negro, denouncing sailor's part in Chicago Race Riot, member of Non-Partisan League, strike-breaker, alleged disrespectful utterances against President Wilson, using offensive language, kidnaping, implicated in larceny, stealing hogs, horse-stealing, poisoning mules, jumping labor contract, suspected of killing cattle, keeping a gambling house, boastful remarks, assisting accused Negro to escape, expressing sympathy with lynched Negro, and accused of conjuring.

*****For further facts on this point see pp. 35-36. The facts in detail can be had from the case studies of 1930 lynchings, which will appear in a separate volume.

THE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST PERSONS LYNCHED 1889-1930

FOR DATA, SEE APPENDIX, TABLE III



posed as victims acknowledged that they made these charges to cover their own derelictions, to divert suspicion from some white man, to reconcile their parents, to attract attention, or "just to have a little excitement". Later in this report are some suggestions why Southern white men are so affected by any rumor of Negro-man-white-woman relations. The very fact that this type of rumor enrages the mass of whites is the reason why unscrupulous white men and women can use it so effectively in efforts to conceal their own misdeeds.

"Burnt Cork and Crime."* Though it is impossible to determine the extent to which Negroes are accused unjustly of crimes, cases of this kind are not uncommon:

"In Savannah, Georgia, not many months ago, two black men leaped upon a passing automobile and tried to rob its occupants. As the car sped by a post, one of the bandits was knocked off and killed. Examination revealed the fact that he was a white man who had blackened his face with burnt cork. Had he escaped, the crime unquestionably would have been charged to Negroes."

"Battling a black assailant in her home in Norfolk, Virginia, last November, a woman tore open his shirt and discovered that he was white. His face was blackened and his hands were covered with rubber gloves."

"A girl in Louisville, after beating off an attacker whom she thought a Negro, discovered that her face and hands were covered with smut which had rubbed off her assailant during the struggle."

White people not only black their faces to disguise themselves, they not infrequently "frame" Negroes:

"From Jackson, Mississippi, comes a strange story of the indictment of a private detective for 'framing' an innocent Negro as a train wrecker, in order to collect a \$3,000 reward. According to press reports, he had not only manufactured evidence against the Negro, but had tortured him into making a confession of guilt."

The third type of representative way by which Negroes are not uncommonly charged falsely with crime is illustrated by the following three cases:

"Recently in North Carolina a couple out in an auto at night were attacked, the young man being shot and the girl beaten. The girl's father reported that their assailant was a Negro. The father himself was later arrested and accused of assaulting the couple because of opposition to their friendship."

*From a leaflet compiled in January, 1931, by R. B. Eleazer from press reports of 1928-1930. By permission a few cases are copied here. Copies of this pamphlet can be had from the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 703 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia.

"A seventeen-year-old girl in a Philadelphia suburb went for an auto ride with some friends and stayed out all night. Next morning she reported that two Negroes had abducted her and held her captive in the woods. When closely questioned by the police, she confessed that the whole story was made up to deceive her mother."

"Last spring an eighteen-year-old girl living with her mother in a Houston hotel reported that a Negro bellboy had assaulted her. The boy was promptly arrested and identified, but immediately established his innocence by unimpeachable proof. When confronted with this fact the girl confessed that her story was false, and that she had made it up in the hope of reconciling her mother and father, who were separated."

The most sensational case of recent months occurred in Norfolk, Virginia, where a white woman accused a Negro of criminal assault. A few weeks thereafter the Negro received a death sentence. Before the execution, however, the judge granted a new trial on the basis of reported "newly discovered evidence". The new trial resulted in the acquittal of the Negro on evidence that the woman had accused him of the assault in order to conceal her association with another man.

Contributions of Negroes Toward Eradication of Lynching. Negro leaders are not without their responsibility toward the lessening of Negro crime and the eradication of lynching. There are at least three specific contributions they can make. They can often help prevent threatened lynchings. Cases are on record where Negroes have been the first to appeal to local officers, or influential white citizens, thus aiding materially in preventing threatened lynchings. This should be done much more widely.

Next, Negro leaders of ability and character are demonstrating their worth and winning respect for the race. The fine records of the Negro graduates of training schools, colleges, and universities have made it plain that the educated Negro is no menace. Such lives are doing much to allay race fear and consequent hostility.

Finally, practical ways can be worked out by which the Negro church, lodge, school, and press can make larger contributions toward the reduction of crime. Negro leaders must not only face the fact of a great deal of Negro crime; they must accept the difficulty of spanning the gap between the level of their own lives and that of the lawless element, with a view of extending their influence over it. Because of the impression which many whites have, Negro leaders can with profit take whatever proper steps are necessary to assure white people that they do not condone Negro crime or shield Negro criminals.

The efficient handling of the lawless element of Negroes, however, is a matter necessitating the cooperation of Negroes and

whites, for much Negro crime centers about white criminals. Then, too, white people are responsible for many of the unwholesome conditions in Negro communities which contribute to the Negro's high crime rate. These facts must be recognized by white leaders and public officials.

Primary Responsibility for Eradication of Lynchings on Whites.

The primary responsibility for the reduction of crime and eradication of lynchings rests with white people. Police protection in Negro communities depends on funds being made available for this purpose, the type of police officers appointed, the supervision given this work, and the support of public opinion.

Negro education, demonstrably a factor in crime prevention,* is primarily dependent upon white boards of education in allocating funds, a responsibility often discharged with scant consideration for the Negro child. Furthermore, white people chiefly determine the types of work available to Negroes, a regulation of economic opportunity which fixes the limits of the Negro's ability to establish and maintain institutions and support professional classes and business enterprises. A small element of the Negro population could provide for its own economic and cultural needs, but the great mass of Negroes, like a great mass of whites, is necessarily dependent for educational opportunities and other public welfare upon the economically controlling white group.

Cooperation is needed between white and Negro leaders in working out practical programs for lessening crime. While no population element is without its obligation, the primary responsibility for the lessening of crime and the eradication of lynching rests upon that portion of the white population which controls political, social, and economic conditions.

*See "The North Carolina Chain Gange", University of North Carolina Press, 1927, pp. 129-130. According to this state-wide study of convicts, 34 per cent of the Negro prisoners were totally illiterate and only 17 per cent had enough education to read a newspaper.

IV. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON LYNCHINGS IN LAST DECADE

Lynching. Contagious. Not infrequently the lynching mania spreads from one community to another, as is illustrated by 1930's lynchings. The four lynchings west of the Mississippi River occurred within a radius of less than two hundred miles and within a period of less than six weeks. The last three of these outbreaks were, to no small extent outgrowths of the May 9 demonstration at Sherman. Within a month after the fourth mob death, at Bryan, Texas, on June 17, several threatened lynchings were frustrated in Texas and Oklahoma. Studies of these frustrated lynchings indicate that they also were outgrowths of the unrest accruing from the earlier mob outbreaks, beginning at Sherman.

A second concentration of lynchings in 1930 occurred in Georgia. Between 1926 and 1929 this state had had no lynchings. In 1930 it had six. The first was at Ocilla on February 1. The other five, four of which were within 120 miles of Ocilla, occurred in the ten weeks' period between July 29 and October 1.

Tendency of Lynchings to Provide Immediate Local Immunity. But while lynching clearly appears to be contagious, like lightning it seldom strikes successively in the same spot. One lynching in a community seems to provide an opportunity for all so inclined to share in the orgy, some by directly taking part in the affair and others through the vicarious participation of justifying or condoning the lynching. Furthermore, the best elements in a community are often shocked into a sense of responsibility for the prevention of further outbreaks; and thus a lynching tends to produce its immediate local immunity. Usually a further lynching takes place only when a new generation grows up, or a new group of people move into the community.

But the lynching contagion tends to continue until the best citizens of a larger area, often a state or group of states, become so disgusted with mob rule that they take precautions to check it. The 1930 lynchings consummated and frustrated west of the Mississippi indicate the process. If in May and June the peace-officers, court officials, and leading citizens of Sherman, Honey Grove, and Bryan, Texas, and Chickasha, Oklahoma, had taken the precautions which were taken at Beaumont, Port Arthur, and other places in this section in late June and July, there would have been no lynchings in Texas and Oklahoma in 1930. Had such precautions been employed in Georgia in 1930 as were taken at Rome and Elberton in 1931, Georgia would have been spared her 1930 lynchings. The real prob-

lem is how to induce public officials and private citizens to exercise the same precautions to prevent the beginning of an epidemic of lynching as they take to stop it after it is under way.

Punishment of Lynchers. Although a few lynchers have been indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced, the courts usually deal with them in the most perfunctory fashion. Between 1922 and 1926, grand juries investigated seventeen lynchings and indicted 146 persons. In 1922 ten were sent to the penitentiary; the next year two, in 1924 five were given jail sentences; the next year five received suspended sentences, one was put in jail, and fifteen were given indeterminate sentences of six months on the chain gang to eight years in the penitentiary; in 1926 eight were given sentences of four years, and a ninth, a life sentence.

Of 1930's twenty-one lynchings, investigations resulted in grand jury indictments of lynchers in five instances, forty-nine persons being indicted. In only one case, that of the second lynching near Thomasville, Georgia, were the lynchers dealt with as murderers. Here, life sentences were given two young white men. Not one of the lynchers indicted at Marion, Walhalla, or Chickasha was convicted. To date (October 15, 1931) but two of the Sherman lynchers have been convicted, one for arson, the other for rioting, each with a two-year sentence.

Although it is doubtless a good omen that courts investigate some of the lynchings, and that from year to year a few indictments are brought against the participants, with an occasional sentence, thus far lynchers have been comparatively safe from indictment and conviction. This immunity has been due to the lack of a disapproving public opinion and to the fact that state authorities have seldom made effective efforts to prosecute in such cases. The lynching method is a recognized custom in many communities. Hence, church members and civic leaders, instead of taking a determined stand against mob violence, often yield to it either by silence or by apology.

Frustration of Many Threatened Lynchings.* In pleasing contrast to the general inaction of the courts is the increased number of prevented lynchings. For the sixteen years ending with 1929, five hundred sixty-nine threatened lynchings were prevented, nearly eighty-five per cent of these being in the Southern States. In over four-fifths of the cases peace-officers prevented the lynchings by removing the prisoner to some distant jail or by using additional police force to guard the local county jail. The remainder of the attempted lynchings were prevented by the force and courage of local peace-officers.

Threatened Lynchings Prevented in Recent Months.** Between January 1, 1930 and October 1, 1931, eighty-eight threatened lynchings were prevented, more than five-sixths of these in the

*See Table IV in Appendix.

**See pp. 69-72 in Appendix.

South. In most cases this was done by the removal of accused persons to distant strong prisons; in other instances, the National Guard was called out to protect the prisoner; and in a few cases, sheriffs and peace-officers protected their prisoner with no outside assistance.

In Huntsville, Alabama, the National Guard was called out to protect a Negro accused of murdering a white man in his home, the guard being augmented as the mob grew in size and fury. A few weeks later, the murdered man's son and another white man were indicted for the crime, and the Negro, proven innocent, was released.

At Port Arthur, Texas, a mob threatened the life of a Negro accused of several recent assaults upon white women. After a determined stand, the local Chief of Police and his assistants saved the man from the mob and then outwitted it again by taking him from his second-floor cell, through the fire hole into the rumble seat of the fire chief's car. Gas bombs had to be used to get the accused Negro from a half-dozen of the would-be lynchers who had anticipated the plan of escape. The car roared out of Port Arthur and reached Beaumont, the county seat, twenty-two miles away, in the record time of sixteen minutes. For several nights in succession mobs gathered around the jail at Beaumont. The sheriff armed his deputies, placed them inside the jail, and went outside. One night an acetylene torch was made ineffective when the sheriff cut the connecting tubes. Another night, the mob was dispersed only when firemen trained their hose on the jailhouse grounds. The mob, assembling night after night, was finally dispelled when the sheriff slapped to the ground a sailor who was trying to organize a band to make another attempt to take the Negro. The officials of the Gulf and Texas Oil Refineries assisted materially in averting the threatened lynching by sending word to the sheriff that any of their employees who participated in any mob violence would be immediately discharged. The Negro was promptly tried, convicted of rape, sentenced to die, and executed.

At LaGrange, Georgia, a Negro was accused of attempted assaults on two white women. A mob formed immediately. The accused Negro was rushed to an Atlanta prison. The judge and prosecuting attorney of the district court, realizing that it would be unwise to try the case in LaGrange, ordered a change of venue. Under adequate guard, the prisoner was taken to the new trial place, where he received a sentence of forty years. Since he was fifty years old this sentence amounted to imprisonment for life.

At Sylvania, Georgia, the judge and sheriff arranged for an unannounced evening session of the court to dispose of the case against a Negro boy accused of attempted rape. The boy, who had signed a confession, was brought from a distant jail to the courtroom where his confession was read. A sentence of forty years was given him by the judge, and he was rushed to a prison outside the county.

Location of Lynchings and Prevented Lynchings
January 1, 1930, to October 1, 1931

⊙ *
Lynching.
Prevented Lynching.

Data compiled from newspaper reports, by Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute.—See pp. 69-72 in Appendix.

Data compiled from newspaper reports, by Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute.—See pp. 69-72 in Appendix.

Lynching.

Prevented Lynching.

Near Shamrock, Texas, an alert sheriff snatched from a mob a Negro, accused of murdering a prominent white farm woman, and hurried his prisoner across the state line to a strong Oklahoma prison. At the trial, held in an adjoining county, the accused was tried, convicted, sentenced to death, and subsequently executed.

It must not be overlooked that, on some occasions, the courts are dominated by the mob spirit and "legal lynchings" ensue. There is considerable evidence that the threatened lynchings at Scottsboro, Alabama, April 1931, and Elberton, Georgia, May 1931, were followed by trials so hasty and predetermined as to preclude equal and exact justice to the accused.* In such cases, the close cooperation of local peace-officers and court officials, refusal to share their plans with the mob element, and exercise of the change of venue, appear to be the most practicable ways of affording the accused a fair trial.

Many Counties Without Lynchings Since 1900. In the thirty-year period ending with 1929, seventy-one, or 30 per cent, of the Black Belt counties of the South had no lynching. During the same years, 120, or 34.4 per cent, of the counties with from one-fourth to one-half Negro population had no lynching. There are, however, but few Southern counties with any appreciable number of Negroes which have had no lynchings.

Some of the counties with the greatest number of lynchings prior to 1900 have had none since, while some of those with most lynchings in recent decades had few or none in the earlier decades.

Lynchings in Unexpected Places. Though the number of lynchings has been decreasing, no community seems free from the danger of mob murder. The public has come to expect lynchings in Southern counties where Negroes are most numerous. But lynchings are by no means limited to these counties. Eleven lynchings occurred between Jan. 1, 1930 and Sept. 1, 1931, in counties which had had no lynching in this century. Four of these were in counties outside the South with less than five per cent Negro population and three were in Southern counties with less than one-fifth Negro population. These facts suggest that mob murder may take place almost anywhere. Many of 1930's lynchings would not have occurred had not local peace officers, court officials, and leading citizens failed to sense the probability of mob violence in their several communities.

The decrease of lynchings in recent decades suggests that the practice can be eradicated from our national life. There is yet, however, much to be done. A better understanding of the various elements in the present situation should make exponents of law and order more effective in their efforts to be rid of mob outbreaks.

*See pp. 51-52 for further discussion of "legal lynching".

V. SOME FACTS ABOUT THE TWENTY-ONE LYNCHINGS IN 1930

In 1930, twenty-one persons were lynched in the United States. Two were in Marion, Indiana; six in Georgia; four in Mississippi; three in Texas; two in South Carolina, and one each in Oklahoma, Alabama, North Carolina and Florida. The Florida victim was a foreign-born white; the other twenty were Negroes.*

Location and General Characteristics of Counties Involved. Five of Georgia's six lynchings in 1930 occurred in the southeastern part of the state, where the white people are traditionally antagonistic toward the Negro. The southeastern counties are generally of poor soil, and were settled chiefly by non-slave-owning whites pushed out of central Georgia by the development of the plantation system. Farming became extensive only in recent decades, with the general use of commercial fertilizers. With the partial disintegration of the central Georgia plantation system numerous Negroes have drifted aimlessly into these southeastern counties. No urban industry absorbs this Negro surplus. Brunswick and Waycross, the largest towns, were the only two Georgia towns of over 5,000 inhabitants to decrease in population between 1920 and 1930.

The southeast is Georgia's newest and poorest section. Here churches, schools, and stabilizing tradition are less powerful than in the older communities. In the last decade, this section has been the scene of numerous floggings, with white as well as Negro victims. It is a belated frontier, and one lacking the virility of the typical American frontier.

The sixth lynching in Georgia occurred at Cartersville, Bartow County, home of the late evangelist Sam Jones, in the center of Georgia's mining industry. A shift from over two-thirds Negro miners to practically all white miners in Bartow County in the last two years has resulted in Negroes being less desirable here than formerly. Thus Georgia's lynchings in 1930 centered below the old Black Belt with one above it.

Other lynchings in 1930 occurring in communities characterized by open antipathy to Negroes, or by lack of economic need for Negroes, include Brazos, Grayson, and Fannin Counties, Texas; Grady County, Oklahoma, and Grant County, Indiana.

Brazos County, in the "black lands" of Central Texas, is famous for its fertile river bottoms and big plantations. Until a half cen-

*See Appendix for date and location of each lynching, name of person lynched, accusation made, and other brief facts; also for comments on reported lynchings at Honey Grove, Texas; Ailey, Georgia, and Thomas County, Georgia.

tury ago these were worked almost entirely by Negroes, but at present, a considerable acreage of these fertile bottoms is cultivated by foreign-born white owners—Italians, Poles, and Czechs. The incursion of Mexican wage hands and tenants is further disturbing the Negro's former monopoly to such an extent that in Brazos County he is fast losing his economic niche. So long as their labor was indispensable to the big plantation owners, Negroes were comparatively secure; now their position is precarious.

Racial conditions in Grayson and Fannin counties, Texas, and Grady County, Oklahoma, are similar. In northeast Texas and the south central part of Oklahoma, the Negro element is small and during recent years the tenant whites have made headway in evicting Negroes. In Grayson County, where Sherman is located, the whites have driven the Negroes out of many communities. Some twenty years ago a Negro was accused of assaulting a white woman at Whitesboro; the Negro was lynched; all Negroes were driven out of town, and none lived there afterwards. Since then, the dominant white farm tenant class has forced the Negroes to leave Bells, Southmayd, Rouella, Hagerman, Pottsboro, and Sadler, all farm-trading centers in Grayson County. A similar method has been followed in Fannin County, immediately east of Grayson, and in Grady County, Oklahoma, a hundred miles to the northwest.

In Marion, Grant County, Indiana, as in Sherman, a downward economic trend is unmistakable. Several industries have been moved to other places, others operate only part time. The Negroes have been the first and greatest unemployment sufferers. Economic retrenchment is less obvious, but noticeable, in Thomasville, Georgia, which has recently lost much of its tourist trade. Cartersville's cotton mills were affected by the general slump; the reduced mine operations further hurt this community. It seemed that the larger communities where lynchings occurred in 1930—particularly Sherman, Marion, Thomasville, and Cartersville—felt the depression more keenly than representative communities of similar size in Texas, Indiana, and Georgia.

No specific background conditions appear as factors in the lynching of the foreign-born white near Plant City, Florida, and none other than a large white tenant element and the presence of cotton mill employees in the case of the lynching of Dan Jenkins in Union County, South Carolina.

Seven of 1930's twenty-one lynchings were in Black Belt counties:* Bolivar, Hinds, and Kemper—the latter with two lynchings—Mississippi; Sumter County, Alabama; McIntosh County, Georgia; and Edgecombe County, North Carolina. In all these counties the Negroes live principally in the open country as tenants or wage hands on large plantations. A tradition in these counties, respected by sheriff and peace-officers as well as by the public, leaves to the planter and his overseer the settlement of any trouble

*Nearly 40 per cent of the Negroes in the South live in Black Belt counties. See page 13.

which arises on the plantation among the Negroes themselves or between them and the overseer or planter. Most crimes in these counties are looked upon as labor troubles to be settled by those who own and control the plantations. As a corollary, to all practical purposes, the sheriff and other peace-officers are the planter's agents.

The domination of these counties by the plantation system roots back into the master-slave regime. Negroes are considered valuable only in proportion as they are productive. Because of the Negroes' overwhelming numbers, the whites insist on keeping them absolutely dependent. The local church and other institutions accept and help perpetuate this system.

Poorer Counties the Scene of Most Lynchings. The measures available show that the counties where lynchings occurred in 1930 are economically below the average. In approximately nine-tenths of these counties the *per capita* tax valuation was below the general state average; in almost nineteen-twentieths the bank deposits *per capita* were less than the state average; in three-fourths the *per capita* income from farm and factory was below the state average, in many cases less than one-half; in nine-tenths fewer and smaller income tax returns were made per thousand population than throughout the state; in over two-thirds, the proportion of farms operated by tenants was in excess of the state rate; and in nearly three-fourths of the counties, automobiles were less common than in the state.

In 1930, as in earlier years, lynchings occurred most often in the open country, a fact which accounts for the generally low economic rating of counties involved. Fourteen, or two-thirds, of 1930's lynchings occurred in the open country or in towns of less than 2,500 population; in five of these counties there were larger towns, but in no case was the actual lynching within six miles of the town. Four lynchings were staged in towns of 2,500 to 15,000 inhabitants, and three in towns of 15,000 to 25,000. Sherman and Marion, in the 15,000 to 25,000 population group, are relatively regressive towns of Texas and Indiana and in many respects fall below the average of their respective states.

In the counties with lynchings educational facilities also were somewhat below the state average, for which fact the relatively low economic rating of the counties seems to account. The churches were small and weak in the rural counties and in the rural portions of the counties with the larger towns; again there was no evidence that they were other than typical counties.* In over half the coun-

*The Commission's investigations do not establish any relation between the vote in the 1928 presidential election and lynchings. The facts are as follows: Fourteen of 1930's twenty-one lynchings occurred in counties which fell in the Democratic column in the 1928 presidential election; three of these—Brazos and Fannin Counties, Texas, and Edgecombe County, North Carolina—were in states which gave Republican majorities, and eleven more in counties which gave relatively larger Democratic majorities than their respective states. One county, McIntosh, Georgia, in a state with a Demo-

(Continued Next Page—Footnote)

ties with lynchings in 1930 more than three-fourths of all white church members were identified with the Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist churches,* while in three-fourths of the counties over half of the Negroes were members of the Baptist Church.

Facts About Persons Lynched in 1930. Four of the mob victims in 1930 were property owners: Allen Greene owned a house and lot at Walhalla, South Carolina; S. S. Mincey, of Ailey, Georgia, owned a farm of forty acres; Lacy Mitchell, Thomas County, Georgia, was the owner of a small farm; and Esau Robinson, lynched in the Emelle disorders of July 4-5, worked with his father on their 160 acre farm. The remaining seventeen mob victims of 1930 paid no taxes on real estate or other productive property. Of the twenty-one persons lynched, one owned town property, two worked as laborers in town, and a third was a floating laborer. The others were of the country and with the exception of the farm owners mentioned above, all were farm wage hands.

The ages of the mob victims ranged from the late teens to seventy, with over two-thirds of them less than twenty-five, and only three over forty-five. Ten of them were married, and twenty children, many of them quite young and all dependent were left without support.

Five of the victims had known court records. John Willie Clarke, lynched at Cartersville, and Abe Smith of Marion, had served sentences for stealing automobiles. Henry Argo of Chickasha had been in a reformatory as an incorrigible youth, and later in prison convicted of raping a Negro woman; Allen Greene of Walhalla had been convicted of attempted rape;** and Willie Kirkland, trusty convict of Thomasville, was at the time of his death serving a road sentence for concealing stolen goods by painting a black mule white. The remaining sixteen had never been before the courts on any charge.

The Negroes lynched at Union, Bryan, Ocilla, Cartersville, and the first one at Thomasville, were considered "outsiders" by the Negroes in the communities where the lynchings occurred. There

cratic majority, gave a Republican plurality because the 167 Democrat votes were sufficiently divided between the Smith Democrats and the Hoover Democrats to permit a Republican plurality. The five other lynchings—at Chickasha, Oklahoma, Sherman, Texas, the two at Marion, Indiana, and the one near Tampa—occurred in counties with cities of 15,000, 15,700, 24,000, and 100,000, respectively, and each county gave a larger Republican majority than the state of which it was a part. That fourteen of 1930's lynchings occurred in Democratic counties appears to be a corollary of the fact that most of the lynchings were in rural counties of the Southern States. See pages 16-18, 22-23, 25-28, and 44-60 for discussions on relation of local politics and other local conditions to lynchings.

*See page 59 for discussion of the strategic positions of the Southern Methodist and Southern Baptist denominations, and the effective stands against mob rule being taken by an increasing number of the leaders of these organizations. These data do not establish these counties as anything other than typical Southern counties, for a great proportion of the Southern whites are affiliated with these two denominations.

**Greene, who had been pardoned, was lynched on the tree under which his pardon papers had been executed, members of the mob nailing this placard to the tree: "On this spot Allen Greene got his parole, and here he got his lynch."

was a definite tendency on the part of local Negroes to disclaim acquaintance with those lynched, just as there was for leading whites to report that "practically all" the lynchers came from "outside" the local community.

Most of the mob victims were from homes where father and mother separated when the victims were small boys, and for most of them life was hard and unattractive from the outset. Of the background of some nothing could be discovered except that they were seemingly without family. When the lynchings occurred, the fathers of two of the victims were serving road sentences. Scarcely half the victims were identified with any church or lodge organization.

The mob victims had but little formal education. Not one had had high school training, and only one had gone beyond the fifth grade; three were illiterate, and eight nearly so. The mental status of the victims covered a wide range. S. S. Mincey, though without formal education, was unusually capable and had attained considerable prominence as politician and lodge leader. Allen Greene also was regarded as exceptionally intelligent. Others of the victims, notably Henry Argo of Chickasha and George Hughes of Sherman, were termed "half wits" or "crazy", and the latter was subject to "spells". Will Roan of Bryan, James Irwin of Ocilla and others were little better. Local Negroes termed them "thick skulls".

These data are comments on the South's failure to provide sufficient educational opportunities and adequate institutional care for Negroes. Hopelessly deficient and diseased Negroes, incapable of normal conduct, are left at large because of lack of institutional care. Adequate provision should be made for the confinement and treatment of all idiots and imbeciles, insane persons, and certain types of feeble-minded and hopelessly defective persons. Such care for even the worst types of Negro mental defectives would have prevented the crimes leading to several of 1930's lynchings.

The Alleged Crimes. The alleged crimes which caused the twenty-one lynchings of 1930 were: murder, five; rape, eight; robbery or theft, three; attempted rape, two; bombing a house, one; no crime alleged, two.*

The unaccused were S. S. Mincey of Ailey, and Lacy Mitchell of rural Thomas County, Georgia. Mincey, a seventy-year-old landowner, prominent politician and lodge leader, was taken from his home at midnight and given a severe beating which resulted in his

*All of the alleged crimes of 1930's mob victims were against white people, one of whom was a foreign-born white. In eight instances the mob victims were accused of crimes involving women; in four, involving men and women; in seven, involving only men; in two cases the mob victims were accused of no crime. The alleged crimes of the nineteen accused mob victims were against members of small farm-owning families, in four instances; officers of the law, in three; farm tenants, in three; farm wage hands, in two; farm overseers, in two; factory workers, in two; motorists en route, in two, and filling station operator, in one.

death. He was flogged for having implied that the "lily-white" Republicans who attempted to wrest the control of the county Republican organization from him were "poor white trash". Moreover, as political referee in his county and section, Mincey had persistently refused to give endorsement to one of the "lily-white" Republicans seeking a postmastership in his county.

Lacy Mitchell, the second unaccused, came to his death one night when a group of men went to his cabin and shot him. Mitchell had aroused the ire of these whites by having testified in a preliminary court hearing concerning two white men charged with raping a Negro woman. Mitchell's murderers were relatives and friends of these men. Subsequently tried, these two white men, though convicted of rape, received sentences of but one year each.

Mob victims accused of murder include Willie Clark, accused of killing the Cartersville Chief of Police; George Grant of Darien, of killing the Brunswick Chief of Police; Esau Robinson of Emelle, of killing a white garage owner in an altercation over a battery; Dave Harris of Rosedale, of killing a teen-age white tenant who with others went to his cabin to whip him; and George Johnson of Honey Grove, of killing his overseer.

Eight of the Negroes lynched in 1930 were accused of rape.* Henry Argo of Chickasha was stabbed to death in his jail cell presumably by the transient farm wage hand whose wife he was accused of raping. At Ocilla, James Irwin, accused of murdering and raping a sixteen-year-old girl, was tortured and mutilated, and then burned. At Sherman, George Hughes, accused of an assault on the wife of a white tenant farmer, was left in the vault of the burning courthouse, then dragged through the streets, and afterwards burned. In a rural community in Union County, South Carolina, Dave Jenkins, accused of rape, was captured, and his body riddled with bullets; the National Guard reached the scene thirty minutes too late. Allen Greene, accused of rape, was lynched at Walhalla. At Tarboro, Oliver Moore was lynched on accusation of raping a farm girl. Abe Smith and Tom Shipp, nineteen-year-old Negroes, lynched at Marion, Indiana, were accused of killing Claud Deeter and raping his companion.

Alleged attempted rape resulted in the lynching of Will Roan, Brazos County, and Willie Kirkland, convict at Thomasville. Pigg Lockett and Tom Holly, accused of robbery, were lynched near Scooba, Mississippi. George Robinson, accused of resisting officers of the law, was lynched at Raymond, Mississippi. Near Plant City, Florida, a foreign-born white, Houdaz, accused of bombing the house of another foreign-born white, was taken from officers and lynched.

*The proportion of mob victims accused of rape was higher in 1930 than for any year since definite records have been kept. See Table III in Appendix.

Probable Guilt of 1930 Mob Victims. Two of the 1930 mob victims were innocent of crime (they were not even accused), and there is grave doubt of the guilt of eleven others. In six of the eleven cases there is considerable doubt as to just what crimes, if any, were committed; in the other five, in which there is no question as to the crimes committed, there is considerable doubt as to whether the mobs got the guilty men.

Opinion was expressed in Scooba, Mississippi that the two Negroes lynched there, on accusations of robbery, may have been the victims of an artful scheme on the part of their accusers to get money from the community to continue an interrupted motor trip. According to court records, Allen Greene was accused of rape at Walhalla under the most improbable circumstances, the husband of the woman alleged to have been raped stating in court that at the time of the alleged assault he had not been away from his wife as much as one minute. In the case of the Negro lynched near Bryan, accused of attempted rape, a previous altercation between him and the husband of the woman, in which the Negro was stripped and beaten with a wet rope, injects the possibility of ulterior motives on the part of the accuser. The evidence against Henry Argo was far from complete, it being generally reported that he had infuriated his accuser by killing her dog for threatening to bite him. In the case of the Negro lynched at Tarboro, the evidence of guilt was certainly insufficient and more or less conflicting.

In the five other cases, where there was no question as to the crimes committed, there is considerable doubt as to whether the guilty person or persons were lynched. No one saw the person who shot and killed the Brunswick Chief of Police at Darien. The sole evidence against the Negro lynched was that he was found by man-hunters in the vicinity where they thought the murderer was, and that he had a gun with him when captured, though it was not of the caliber of the projectile which killed the Chief. In the case of the double lynching at Marion, the identity of the murderers of Claud Deeter has never been definitely established; the two Negroes lynched may or may not have been the guilty persons. There is some doubt as to whether the Negro lynched at Ocilla was the person who had murdered and raped a girl there. The evidence against Willie Kirkland, convict, accused of attempted assault at Thomasville, is not absolutely conclusive.

The instances where the lynched persons were most likely guilty of the crimes of which they were accused include John Willie Clarke, lynched at Cartersville; Dan Jenkins, lynched near Union; Esau Robinson, lynched at Emelle; George Johnson, lynched at Honey Grove; Dave Harris, lynched at Rosedale; George Robinson, lynched at Raymond; George Hughes, lynched at Sherman, and John Houdaz, lynched near Plant City. Those accustomed to apologize for lynching should remember that of 1930's twenty-one mob vic-

tims, two were unaccused, and that there is doubt as to the guilt of eleven more.*

Good citizens will never justify the rashness and murderous activity of mobs. By their very nature, lynchings made it practically impossible to get at the exact facts of the alleged crimes. A tradition of the absolute guilt of the person lynched sprang up immediately in practically every community with a lynching in 1930 and cut off all further investigation. Had the Negroes at Huntsville and Norfolk been lynched, it is highly probable that their guilt would never have been questioned, though their innocence was later established by the courts. In both these cases, it will be remembered the courts later placed the blame upon their white accusers.

Apprehension of Lynchers Not Difficult. The apprehension of lynchers can usually be accomplished without great difficulty. The Commission's field workers secured fairly definite information about some of the persons who took an active part in the lynchings at Thomasville, Ailey, Ocilla, Darien, Scooba, Bryan, and Emelle.** In six other instances, Marion with its double lynching, Sherman, Walhalla, Chickasha, and the case of Lacy Mitchell at Thomasville, indictments were made by the courts. Lynchers go unpunished by the courts not because they cannot be found, but either because the peace-officers do not want to apprehend them, or local people who have the information refuse to give it to the courts, or the courts themselves are inefficient or indifferent.

Some Facts About Known Lynchers. With the exception of the case at Plant City, where a foreign-born white man was presumably lynched by other foreign-born whites, all the 1930 lynching victims were Negroes, and practically all the lynchers were native whites.

The mobs ranged in size from five persons to fifteen thousand. Lacy Mitchell near Thomasville, met his death at the hands of five men. Will Roan was lynched near Bryan by a half-dozen man-hunters. S. S. Mincey, Ailey, was killed by a dozen masked men. Willie Clark, of Cartersville, was taken from the jail shortly after midnight by something less than fifty men. The lynching at Tarboro was of this same type. Pigg Lockett and Tom Holly, at Scooba, were hanged by a well-organized group of fifty or seventy-five men who came upon the officers in transit with the prisoners. About 200 men chased down and riddled Dave Harris in Bolivar County, Mississippi. Hundreds of people were in the mobs at Ocilla, Thomasville, Emelle, Honey Grove, Chickasha, Union, and Walhalla. At Sherman and Marion thousands of people from these towns and surrounding country were present.

*For data from which above statement is formulated, see case studies of 1930 lynchings.

**There is every reason to believe that had the investigators spent more time at Union, Cartersville, Tarboro, Plant City, Raymond, and Honey Grove, they could have secured information about mob leaders there.

In some of the lynchings, practically everybody on hand was an active participant; in others, the number of people present precluded active participation for all. The members of large mobs could be divided roughly into three types: Those who took an active part in the lynching; those in sympathy with the active lynchers, but taking no part; and those on hand largely out of curiosity. In no instance did it appear that any one present protested against what was taking place. The hundreds of people present at the lynchings at Sherman, Marion, Thomasville, Ocilla, Union, Walhalla, and Darien were either in sympathy with the active lynchers, disinterestedly looking on, or unable or afraid to make any efforts to thwart the mob. Drinking was in evidence in most of the mobs.

The majority of persons who took active part in the lynchings were unattached and irresponsible youths of twenty-five or less, many of them not yet out of their teens. Among them, in practically every case, were some older men who looked on sympathetically and took part once the activities were under way. Women, too, were sometimes present.

Only one of the known lynchers was a college-trained man—a dentist, released but a few years ago from the State Insane Asylum. Few of those identified were even high-school graduates, though a few high school students took an especially active part in the preliminaries at Sherman and at Marion. In the rural counties the older men seemed to have initiated the lynchings. About half the known lynchers were not identified with any church, with many others inactive as to contributions and attendance. Many of the lynchers were that type of person who reads but little, is identified with but few or no organizations, who, in short, is outside the reach of the modern agencies affecting group morals and public opinion.

As to the ownership of property, the known active lynchers were generally propertyless. In the majority of cases they were unemployed, rambling, irresponsible people, many of them with court records. In the rural communities, the more shiftless types of white farm tenants and wage hands were most in evidence. Of the fourteen indicted by the grand jury at Sherman, only one was a property owner.

Mobs recklessly destroyed property at Sherman, Marion, and Chickasha. Mob psychology relieves the individual of any sense of responsibility. Added to this is the fact that many members of mobs are propertyless and, therefore, not liable for monetary damages. The courthouse at Sherman was fired by a group of teen age boys who owned no property. The boys were urged on by a group of propertyless older people, and more than one was heard to say, "Let 'er burn down; the taxpayers'll put 'er back".

A Few Leading Whites Among Lynchers. It would be erroneous, nowever, to leave the impression that all the lynchers were of the

shiftless, irresponsible, propertyless type. At Scooba, Mississippi, where a double lynching occurred, the two men reported to have organized and engineered the mob from start to finish are leading people in the community, one a planter, the other a storekeeper, both actively identified with the local church, school, and other community activities. Generally speaking, the more backward a community was, the more likely were the "best people" to participate in the actual lynching.

Women and Children in Mobs. Women were in especial evidence in the mobs at Sherman, Marion, Honey Grove, Ocilla, Darien, and at the first lynching at Thomasville. At the latter place the mother of the white school girl whom a Negro was accused of attempting to assault went often to the stockade in which the accused was confined. When the sheriff and his deputies started with him from the stockade to a waiting car, she cried out hysterically: "Are you men going to let that nigger go?"

At Darien, a woman, about 50 years of age, stood on the porch of the sheriff's house, which connects with the cells, and begged the men to go in and kill the accused Negro. When the fatal shots had been fired, and the dead body had been brought down, she railed at the men for not burning the corpse then and there. The sheriff's daughters took an active part in precipitating the mob death at Darien. Numerous women were in the mob of 1,000 which tortured and mutilated and burned the Negro at Ocilla.

After she had found the men unwilling to go into the courtroom and get the accused George Hughes, a woman at Sherman got a group of boys to tear an American flag from the wall of the courthouse corridor and parade through the courthouse and grounds, to incite the men to do their "manly duty". Within two hours the courthouse was fired by the boys. Women took an active part in the demonstrations in the evening, culminating in the withdrawal of the militia from the courthouse grounds to the protection of the jail. Women threw bottles, brickbats, and other missiles at the retreating militiamen. In several instances women held their babies high over their heads and dared the militia to shoot. At Marion, several women were close in with the men who knocked down the jailhouse door and seized the accused Negroes. In several instances, mothers with children in arms were in the midst of the mob. Expectant mothers were also in evidence.

At Sherman a grandmother called her two small grandsons out of bed and took them some blocks away to see the body of George Hughes roasted. It is reported that at Honey Grove the wife of one minister ran to the home of another minister and called to his wife: "Come, I never did see a nigger burned and I mustn't miss this chance."

Most of the women in the mobs who chided the men into action and shouted approval of what was going on were of middle age. Darien, where the sheriff's daughters became hysterical, was the

only place where girls of less than twenty were known to have taken any active part. In no mob were women in their twenties reported.

Not all the children in the mobs were taken there by their mothers. Many parents at Sherman, Marion and other places could not locate their children until after the demonstrations were over. At Sherman a man with a boy in high school became alarmed lest his son was in the mob. He tried to find him. With great satisfaction several hours later he found his son had been working on a Scout merit badge project. Children of all ages rushed in everywhere to see what was going on. The presence of women and children in mobs seriously hindered effective opposition. Women and children incited the men to action and at the same time made peace-officers and militiamen less inclined to use their firearms.

VI. MOBS IN ACTION

Some Doings of 1930 Mobs. Mobs are capable of unbelievable atrocity. James Irwin, at Ocilla, was chased all night by hundreds of man-hunters. When captured next morning, the sheriff along with the accused Negro was seized by the mob, and the two were carried to the scene of the crime. Here quickly assembled a thousand or more men, women, and children. The accused Negro was hung up in a sweet-gum tree by his arms, just high enough to keep his feet off the ground. Members of the mob tortured him for more than an hour. A pole was jabbed in his mouth. His toes were cut off joint by joint. His fingers were similarly removed, and members of the mob extracted his teeth with wire pliers. After further unmentionable mutilations, the Negro's still living body was saturated with gasoline and a lighted match was applied. As the flames leaped up, hundreds of shots were fired into the dying victim. During the day, thousands of people from miles around rode out to see the sight. Not till nightfall did the officers remove the body and bury it.

The Sherman mob also went to extreme lengths. For several days, gory details and rankest rumors had been circulated concerning George Hughes' crime. Mobs gathered at the jail night after night. On the morning of the trial, the county seat town of Sherman was filled with people from the surrounding country. Several efforts were made to take the accused Negro from the courtroom, but they were thwarted by gas bombs. Shortly after noon the courthouse was fired. Many of the court officials and four Texas rangers escaped by second floor windows. The accused Negro was placed in the second-floor of a large vault, where he remained while the courthouse burned to the ground. Members of the mob cut the water hose and thwarted the fire department's attempt to save the building. With evening, a small group of militiamen was driven from the courthouse grounds to the county jail. A little later, a larger unit of militiamen, just arrived from Dallas, was forced to retire to the protection of the jail. Shortly before midnight, with an acetylene torch and high explosives, a second-story vault window was blown open and the Negro's body was thrown to the crowd below. It was greeted by loud applause from the thousands who jammed the courthouse square. Police directed traffic while the corpse was dragged through the streets to a cottonwood tree in the Negro business section. There it was burned to a crisp. Soon Negro business properties valued at between \$50,000 and \$100,000 were fired, and the fire department was not allowed to throw water on them, though the mob permitted a hose to be trained on a white man's dwelling within fifteen feet of a burning

Negro residence. The mob was dispersed shortly before daybreak when several hundred militiamen arrived from Dallas.

At Honey Grove the corpse of George Johnson was fastened by the feet to the back of a truck to keep the face down. In this position the body was dragged for five miles in and out of town, and later burned in front of a Negro church.

In most of the 1930 lynchings, there were evidences of a madness similar to that at Ocilla, Sherman, and Honey Grove. The roots of mob psychology might well be given extended study by competent scientists.

Some Characteristics of the Mob Mind.* One of the most obvious things about the mental make-up of the lyncher or pro-lyncher is that he tends to accept unqualifiedly any and all reports which fit into certain preconceived notions about Negroes and the kind of crimes which warrant lynching. At Sherman, Marion, Darien, Tarboro, Thomasville, Scooba, Honey Grove, Chickasha, Walhalla, and other places the active lynchers and those who sympathized with them wove into a unit all sorts of unfounded rumors arising from many persons and many situations widely separated as to time and place. The report of a revolting crime excited into action people with certain views concerning the relative racial status of whites and Negroes. Any details which agreed with these preconceptions were eagerly incorporated into the picture as things which actually happened.

The avidity with which the general white populace of Sherman received each new bit of gory detail accounts for the staggering magnitude of the disorders there. The physician who examined the white victim and another physician who saw the accused Negro both refute many of the bloody stories which motivated the mob. But once the excitement was on, abundant rumors were available with which to complete the picture, and facts made no difference. Even months after the Marion and Sherman lynchings, hardly a white person of high or low estate could be found in these communities who did not still accept uncritically many of the unfounded reports. Differing only in degree, the same situation obtained in the case of nearly every one of the lynchings of the year.

Another obvious mental characteristic of the lyncher is his dogmatic assertion that the right person was lynched. The lyncher or pro-lyncher demands a complete case against his victim. In the first lynching at Thomasville, and those at Darien, Union, Scooba, Bryan, Marion, Tarboro, and Walhalla, there is a lack of conclusive evidence as to the victim's guilt. Nevertheless, immediately after the lynchings were consummated a tradition of absolute guilt developed, which persists to afford whatever solace and defense the community may derive from it.

*E. D. Martin's "Behavior of Crowds" (N. Y., 1920), and William McDougall's "Group Mind" (1920), will be valuable to those interested in the general aspects of mob psychology. The works of Gustave Le Bon, Augustus Tarde, Levy Bruhl, Durkheim, and other French authors are especially valuable in the field of group behavior.

The credulity of the lyncher or pro-lyncher in taking at face value all reports, and the development of the tradition of the absolute guilt of the mob's victims are both phases of the inability of the mass of white people to deal dispassionately with situations involving actual or potential racial conflict. Some of the fundamental reasons for this have been indicated already, and others are discussed more fully later in this report.

Assumptions of Lynchers. Many white people—particularly in the open country—assume that Negroes are prone to crimes against women and that unless a Negro is lynched now and then the women in the solitary farmsteads are in danger. The Commission's investigations show that in many cases where no such crime was involved lynchings for other offenses were nevertheless justified on the same assumption. A common contention of lynchers and their apologists is that the courts are slow and uncertain and expensive, and that to bring the accused Negro into the courts at all is to do him unwarranted honor.

Our case studies revealed that in many communities practically every white man feels that, as such, he has an indisputable right to join in a man hunt for any accused Negro. This assumption grows out of slave-time traditions and the experiences of Reconstruction, and has been encouraged and kept alive by certain types of politicians who keep themselves in office by appeals to racial fear and antagonism. In a few cases church leaders have adopted the same race fear tactics in religious controversies.*

The Man-Hunt Tradition and How It Operates. These assumptions underlie the traditional practice of Southern white men in arming themselves unofficially and hunting down an accused person. This method of mutual aid in policing an area, evolved on the frontiers, persists in localities where police power is least adequate, or where the populace, for whatever reasons, insist upon dealing directly with crime and criminals. The man-hunt tradition, an important element of which seems to be the lure of the chase, brings together the people who find lynching attractive.

Before a half dozen of 1930's lynchings had been investigated, it became obvious that the man-hunt tradition rests on the assumptions of the unlimited rights of white men and the absence of any rights on the part of an accused Negro. Simply by being accused of some crime, the latter, so the man-hunters feel, has forfeited every claim upon society. With men of this mind scouring the woods and fields, it is little wonder that the Negroes lynched near Rosedale, Bryan, and Union never came into the custody of the sheriff or other peace-officers.

Even when the accused was captured by peace-officers, the

*See especially the arguments presented in the Methodist controversy over unification appearing in both secular and religious press.

presence of man-hunters militated against his ever getting before the courts. Usually the man-hunters rather than the officers dominated the situation throughout. At Emelle, Honey Grove, and Ocilla they wreaked vengeance on their victims in the presence of the sheriff and his deputies. In each of these cases, the man-hunters felt that the captured Negro was their prey. They had caught him, and consequently it was rightfully within their province to decide whether they would turn him over to the sheriff and the courts, kill him on the spot, or torture and mutilate him and then let a slow fire do the rest.

Selective Process Inherent in Man-Hunt. By its very nature the man hunt operates through a highly selective process. In the first place, people who have regular work-hours and routine responsibilities are precluded from participating in all-day and all-night hunts. Again, those who have faith in the peace-officers and courts are not likely to take part.

The man-hunt provides an opportunity for the carrying and flourishing of firearms with impunity, a privilege which appeals strongly to the more irresponsible elements. Moreover, the man-hunt affords an opportunity for uninfluential whites, who play no responsible part in political or institutional life, to rise within a few hours into the heroic role of protector of Southern womanhood and white supremacy. Man-hunts and lynchings make it possible for obscure and irresponsible people to play the roles of arresting officers, grand jurors, trial jurors, judges, and executioners. An added attraction is that they often afford an avenue of emotional escape from a life so drab and unilluminated that any alternative is welcomed.

Onlookers Not Guiltless. Although the persons who participated actively in the 1930 lynchings are primarily responsible, and those sympathizers who simply stood by are next most guilty, the curious onlookers who rushed in merely because something unusual was happening are not without guilt. This last named element, made up of the relatively better people, provided the mob with a semblance of decency and no small measure of immunity from official interference.

At Sherman, Honey Grove, and Marion, thousands stood by while a few score men did the work. Hundreds were present at Ocilla, Darien, Union, Walhalla, Rosedale and Chickasha. The onlookers as individuals may not have been in sympathy with what was going on, but their very presence rendered the task of the peace-officers more difficult. Consequently they are morally and probably legally responsible for the outrage against law.

VII. PEACE-OFFICERS, POLITICS, AND NATIONAL GUARD

A Representative Attitude of Peace-Officers. "Do you think I am going to risk my life protecting a 'nigger'?" This remark typifies a common attitude of peace-officers in communities where lynchings occurred in 1930. In the majority of cases the sheriff and other peace-officers merely stood by while the mob did its work. After the tragedy they said that the mob had taken them completely by surprise, or that, though aware of the impending danger, they were unwilling to shoot into the crowd lest they kill innocent men, women and children. At Marion, Cartersville, Scooba, Union, Tarboro, and Plant City, the sheriffs or other peace-officers were either in connivance with the mob or else extremely stupid. In each case the mob took possession of the accused in the presence of the officers, who did not fire a shot or make any other real effort to protect the accused.

The sheriff of McIntosh County, Georgia, where George Grant was shot to death in his cell, represents still another type. Here the sheriff stated he was glad that the "d—— nigger" was dead. "Except for my oath and bond", he added, "I'd have killed him myself as soon as they brought him within shooting distance of the jail".

However, not all sheriffs reacted in this fashion. At Walhalla the sheriff was dangerously wounded. At Ocilla when the sheriff disobeyed the instructions of the mob who had permitted him to "take charge" of the prisoner, his car was fired upon, and a bullet hole in the car's gas tank caused it to empty immediately. At the point of guns the sheriff was then taken with the accused to the place where the latter was tortured, mutilated, and burned.

Two Proud Sheriffs.* At Honey Grove, Texas, a Negro named George Johnson, after killing his impetuous white overseer, barricaded himself in a cabin, and was killed by a two-hour fusilade from the sheriff and a deputized posse. Johnson's body was then dragged into Honey Grove and burned in front of a Negro church. The sheriff boasted that "No innocent persons were killed; and not one cent of property was destroyed!" This lynching, it will be remembered, came one week after the Sherman mob disorders.

The sheriff of Thomas County, Georgia, took pride in his handling of the mob which lynched Willie Kirkland, convict accused of attempted rape. After the mob took the Negro from the

*Numerous sheriffs, as is set forth earlier in this report, had just reason for taking pride in their handling of difficult cases. Since 1914, no less than 657 threatened lynchings have been prevented.

stockade, the sheriff regained control of the accused at two o'clock in the morning by persuading the mob leaders that they ought to let the little girl identify the Negro in the daylight and on the promise that he would have her present for that purpose at eight o'clock next morning. The mob reassembled a little before eight. The girl was taken before the accused Negro at eight. Shortly after eight, the sheriff with the prisoner walked out of the front door of the stockade toward a waiting car. Members of the mob snatched the accused from the sheriff, rushed him to Magnolia Park, a mile away, and shot him to death. Immediately thereafter unmasked men dragged the corpse through the principal business streets of Thomasville at the head of a slow-moving procession of cars. The body was left on the courthouse lawn for the "authorities". The sheriff reported with satisfaction that he "saw to it" that the lynchers got the right man.

Without Benefit of Sheriff. In several instances the mob victims never came into the possession of the officers. In Bolivar County, Mississippi, the local deputy sheriff rode out to the place where the man-hunt was under way. When he found that the accused Negro was certain of being caught, he returned to his courthouse office, quite content with the way the thing was being handled. In two other plantation counties—Brazos, Texas and Sumter, Alabama—the officers deliberately left matters in the hands of the local people.

In Union County, South Carolina, when the man-hunters came upon the fugitive, the sheriff was some distance away. He arrived before the lynching, but was not permitted to gain possession of the prisoner. For half an hour he was elbowed away by members of the mob, which then stood the Negro against the road bank and shot him to death. In this case, as in the cases at Darien, Ocilla, Thomasville, Cartersville, Scooba, Tarboro, Honey Grove and Marion, the sheriff and other peace-officers later reported under oath to the grand jury that they did not recognize a single member of the mob.

Activities of Peace-Officers in Relation to Whites as Voters. Where mobs were threatening, peace-officers found themselves in the midst of a mass of excited and demanding white people. As servants of the voters of the county they naturally realized that they were expected to act in accordance with the voters' wishes. Though our investigations indicate that most of the active mob members were not actual voters, nevertheless being white men they were potential voters who could vote whenever they would take the trouble to meet resident requirements, pay poll taxes, and register. Hence they were to be reckoned with by men desiring office. In over three-fourths of the counties where lynchings occurred in 1930, less than two-fifths—in four counties less than one-

fifth—of the whites of voting age took part in the 1928 presidential election, which brought out a larger vote than is common in national or local elections.

In practically every community where lynchings occurred in 1930 there existed a gulf between the leading whites and the humbler whites, the latter looking with resentment upon the attitude of the more prosperous citizens toward "their Negroes". The propertyless Southern whites, scarcely any of whom vote, seem to take pleasure now and then in showing the dominant group that they themselves are not without power. It is gratifying, however, to find that a number of sheriffs who threw caution to the wind and protected their prisoners at all costs bid fair to be reelected. On the other hand, some sheriffs who permitted lynchings are finding themselves unpopular candidates for reelection. Protecting a prisoner does not necessarily mean the sheriff's political suicide.

Political Impotence of Negroes a Factor. The Negro's political impotence in most Southern communities is obviously a major factor in his inability to get legal protection. Mobs are made up of white people who as actual or potential voters control political affairs. Over against the mob is the accused Negro. It is one against a score or ten thousand. The one is the representative of a race which by tradition, economic status, and political impotence is relatively powerless.*

"Outside" Peace-Officers a Problem. Through reporting a threatened race riot when nothing had happened except an exchange of shots between a Negro prowler and a night watchman, the McIntosh County sheriff virtually brought on the death of the Brunswick Chief of Police, the aftermath of which was the lynching of one Negro and the cold-blooded murder of a second. Along with peace-officers from other counties, the alarm brought also a horde of man-hunters. When the Negro was shot to death in his cell, a half-dozen sheriffs and a score of their deputies were in the crowd. With the exception of two from the Brunswick Police Department, not one of these officers was identified with any effort to maintain law and order. To all practical purposes, incoming sheriffs and their deputies merely increased the numbers of the mob, and militated against whatever efforts local peace-officers might otherwise have made to keep order. The man-hunters from adjoining counties were naturally emboldened by the sight of their own sheriffs and deputies standing round but taking no part in the defense of constituted authority. This was true of scores of "outside" officers at Marion and Sherman, and of a half-dozen at Ocilla, Honey Grove, and Emelle.

*The Negro has had a profound influence on American politics at every turn from the framing of the Constitution to the present, but by reason of the efforts of whites to deal with him rather than by his own participation.

Among the unattached, irresponsible whites who participated in the 1930 lynchings were a number of county stockade guards and other petty officers. It is generally reported that persons of this type participated in the death of S. S. Mincey, Will Roan, and George Grant. In some cases, to all practical purposes, guards and other "pistol totin' deputies" were leaders of the mob. They had an official excuse for being armed, and their cooperation with the mob emboldened it and reduced the man power of an already inadequate police force.

National Guard Not Always Effective. Although the National Guard in many instances rendered admirable service in preventing threatened lynchings, it has been of questionable value in at least three cases since the beginning of 1920. In Darien, a small unit of poorly disciplined militiamen was on hand when George Grant was captured, placed in the jail and shot. The guards did nothing, however, the militia captain asserting that he had been sent by the Governor only "to cooperate with" the local authorities. The local authorities, on their part, say that the Commander of the Guard did not report to them and that they assumed that the Guard's presence was *prima facie* evidence of its being in command. Machine guns were mounted and other precautions were taken at the jail only after George Grant had been killed.

At Sherman, in addition to four of the far-famed Texas Rangers, a small detachment of the state guard was on hand from the early afternoon. Later in the day, while the courthouse burned, the mob forced this unit to take refuge in the jail. In early evening, when additional guardsmen arrived from Dallas, the mob again demonstrated its undisputed reign by driving them, also, to the protection of the jail. Had a large number of militiamen been on hand in Sherman earlier in the day, or if those who were there had fired to kill, wound, or frighten, they would have been taken more seriously by the rioters.

In a third instance, at Maryville, Missouri, early in 1931, a mob of thousands intercepted the prisoner on the way from the jail to the courthouse, marched him on foot several miles down a country road to a schoolhouse, the scene of his alleged crime, chained him on the roof and burned the building. The National Guard was in Maryville and ready for action during the entire time. The officer in charge of the Guard reported that his instructions were to act only upon request of the sheriff and that the sheriff refused to request his services. On the other hand, the National Guard has been used most effectively to prevent threatened lynchings at Huntsville, Alabama; Concord, North Carolina; Elberton, Georgia; Scottsboro, Alabama; and numerous other places throughout the South.

"County Rights" as Related to Use and Effectiveness of National Guard. In some cases the Guard's presence is looked upon

by local people as "outside interference". This often arouses the lawless element and wounds the pride of the better element of whites. For these reasons, peace officers and other county authorities often fail to ask for the Guard. In most cases the kinsmen and friends of the injured person demand that the accused be tried in the local court, and protest against the presence of any "outside" influence, whether militiamen, lawyers, or organized interest, because they fear these will delay trial, sentence, and execution.

In general, the more backward a county, the more self-conscious it is, and consequently the more insistent upon its self-sufficiency. To be effective, any state statute giving power to the Governor or other state official to deal with mobs must confer powers clearly superseding those of the sheriff and local authorities.

VIII. WHAT THE COURTS HAVE DONE ABOUT 1930 LYNCHINGS

Lynchers Usually Go Unmolested by Local Courts. In six of the twenty-one lynchings in 1930—Thomas County, Walhalla, Sherman, Chickasha, and Marion with its double lynching—grand jury indictments were returned against a total of forty-nine persons. In the other fifteen instances, the coroners reported that the lynched persons came to their deaths "at the hands of parties unknown" to them. The grand juries in turn failed to fix responsibility. Of the 49 persons indicted only four have been convicted. In the Sherman case, two received sentences of two years each, being convicted of arson and rioting rather than of murder.

Only in the case of the two whites charged with murdering Lacy Mitchell of rural Thomas County have the sentences approximated the seriousness of the crime. These two were given life sentences. Perhaps these sentences were in part an effort to redeem the good name of a community which had failed to make cases against the unmasked men who—in broad daylight, and in the presence of a score of leading citizens, the local Baptist pastor, the sheriff and other county officials—had taken Willie Kirkland, lynched him, and dragged his body through the streets. At the same session of the Superior Court, sentences of but one year each had been given the two white men convicted of raping a Negro mother with a young baby. When referring to the November, 1930, term of court, citizens of Thomasville emphasize the two life sentences.

The cases against the Walhalla lynchers were disposed of by the acquittal of all. The cases in Chickasha, brought by the Federal Government against members of the mob who destroyed a truck belonging to the National Guard, have so far resulted in no convictions. In Marion, after a local jury had acquitted the two persons with most evidence against them, the cases against the others were dropped.

No Effective Assistance from State Officials. In a number of cases state officials offered their cooperation to local officers for the purpose of investigation and prosecution, but the results were disappointing. The Attorney General of Texas went to Sherman, and stated that his office was at the service of Grayson County officials for the prosecution of those guilty of burning the courthouse, lynching the Negro, and destroying Negro property. Their combined efforts, however, have netted only two sentences of two years each.

The Indiana Attorney General, who has power to bring proceedings of impeachment against a sheriff, announced that the sheriff

of Grant County would be made to answer for his failure to protect the two Negroes from the mob. Nothing ever came of his promise. The Attorney General of Oklahoma announced that his office would cooperate in the prosecution of the lynchers of Henry Argo at Chickasha. But here, as elsewhere, the handling of the case was left in the control of the local prosecuting officer and nothing has come of it.

To Union County, South Carolina, and Edgecombe County, North Carolina, the governors of the respective states sent personal investigators, but no arrests or indictments resulted.

Proceedings by Alabama Governor Against Officers Who Permitted Lynching. In the case of Emelle alone did the state authorities do anything of consequence. The Governor of Alabama has power to bring proceedings against any sheriff who has allowed a person to be lynched in his county, seemingly whether taken from custody or not. Immediately after the lynching at Emelle on July 4, Governor Bibb Graves sent members of the State Enforcement Department into the community. On the basis of the information they procured, he requested the judge of the local district court to call a special session. The people of Sumter county were not greatly disturbed by the Governor's moves, for, as they said, "We still have our own sheriff and prosecuting attorney."

But when the special court was convened, the local people were shocked to find Judge Chamberlain of Mobile on the bench, and members of the State Enforcement Department* performing the usual duties of the sheriff. The local district prosecuting attorney was displaced by another prosecuting attorney sent in by Governor Graves.

The law in Alabama prevents any impeached person from later holding office, and so by the end of the second day of the trial the sheriff and the district prosecuting attorney had resigned. The latter had been reelected to his office a short time before the lynching, but his new term had not yet begun. By resigning for the remainder of his term, he escaped impeachment and was eligible to resume the office upon the beginning of his new term early in 1931. So Sumter County, Alabama, at present has for prosecuting attorney a man who resigned to prevent impeachment.

The treatment of the Emelle disorders by the special court was a very partisan vindication of justice, however. Two ineffective officers were forced to resign. A score of Negroes were indicted and some of them were given death sentences for killing two white men, but no white men were even so much as arrested for lynching one Negro and killing three more, one of them an innocent woman.

Some Reasons Why Lynchers Go Unpunished. Some factors which make courts ineffective are: Divided responsibility between

*This department, a chief reason why there was but one lynching in Alabama during Governor Bibb Graves' administration, was abolished by Governor Miller as one of his first official acts, in accordance with campaign promises.

peace-officers, judges, and grand and trial juries; the indifference of some court officials; the wide-spread feeling that the white women should be shielded from court testimony; the disinclination of local jurymen to indict and convict their neighbors, and promises made the mob by officers and leading citizens in order to prevent further outbreaks.

The divided responsibility between peace-officers, judges, and grand and trial juries permits many lynchers to escape court punishment. In nearly every case when persons were lynched or taken from the jails to be lynched, peace-officers were on hand, and in most of the instances these men later declared upon oath that they could identify no members of the mob. The judges presiding over the courts usually made very vigorous charges* to the grand juries in lynching cases. The grand juries returned indictments in only six lynchings, and in only two did sentences result. In many cases the local public, including prosecuting attorneys and other court officers, seemed relieved when the grand juries failed to return indictments.

The judge in an adjoining judicial district stated to the Commission's representative that he knew personally many people who participated in the Ocilla lynching, but that no indictments had been brought or would be brought at Ocilla, and that if indictments should be brought, nobody would be convicted. It is not a matter of record that this judge made any effort to communicate to the proper officials his knowledge of the participants. Grayson's County's attorney, in charge of the prosecution of those indicted at Sherman, delayed repeatedly the hearing of the cases of those under indictment. After being changed from Sherman to Dallas, over the county attorney's protest, the cases had to be transferred from Dallas to Austin because the Dallas judge was unable to get a jury that would agree to give verdicts against the defendants, even though the evidence might be conclusive. Certain observers were not convinced that the local prosecuting attorney desired to punish the Marion lynchers.

The wide-spread feeling that white women should be protected at all costs from testifying in open court in the trial of a Negro is often used as an argument to justify the acts of lynchers. The accused was guilty and would have gotten the death sentence anyway; by lynching him a white woman was spared the humiliation of appearing in court. This type of reasoning, related again and again to the Commission's investigators, helps explain why lynchings occur and lynchers go unpunished by the courts.

The attitude of jurors toward lynchings is often modified by the tradition that it is the duty of one family to another to protect it from violence. Solitary farm dwellers, with little police protection,

*This was not the case, however, in some instances—notably that of Cartersville, Georgia, where the judge in a way apologized to the grand jurors for having to request them to carry out laws which had not been made by them but which it was his sworn duty to ask them to proceed by. The exact words of this presiding judge appear in the case study of the Cartersville lynching.

feel responsible for the protection of their neighbors. A clever lawyer for the defendant lyncher is often able to convince the jurors that, if the crime had been committed against a member of the juror's own immediate family, he naturally and rightfully would have done what the lyncher did, and if in turn he shares in the general community responsibility, he would have done the same thing to help protect his distant neighbor. Under this type of reasoning the lyncher is pictured to jurors as a protector of society rather than its enemy.

The Natural History of "Legal Lynching." In the efforts to prevent a lynching, or to prevent further mob outbreaks after a lynching has occurred, peace-officers and leading citizens often make to mob leaders promises which preclude impartial court procedure. The threatened lynching in Brazos County, Texas, in 1929, serves to illustrate exactly how members of the mob hold peace-officers and leading citizens to their word. The sheriff arrested a Negro accused of raping a school teacher at Millican, just southwest of Bryan, and escaped with him. The mob followed. To prevent a lynching, a leading lawyer of Bryan promised mob leaders that if they would leave the Negro in the custody of the law he would see to it that there would be an immediate conviction and death sentence. The case was called late one afternoon. The mob, jamming the courthouse, demanded that it be completed that night. Court officials, fearing that a recess would result in a lynching, went on with the case. The evidence and argument were finished by ten o'clock. The jury retired and in a few minutes returned a verdict of guilty. The lawyers appointed by the court for the defendant considered whether to appeal the case, calling into their deliberations other lawyers and leading citizens. They decided not to appeal, fearing that to do so would only result in a lynching that night. So it was that the Negro's case was not appealed and within a month he was executed. The mob dictated every move in this trial, and doubtless the Negro would have been lynched had the court at any point failed to carry out promises made the mob by leading citizens.

It is not incorrect to call such a sentence a "legal lynching". Whether it administers its own punishment or coerces the courts, a mob is a mob. Except in rare cases, the presence of a mob defeats the ends of impartial justice, either by lynching the accused person or by forcing the courts to summary and perhaps unjust convictions.

A lynching ensued at Cartersville when the trial procedure there violated the general agreement between the mob leaders, officers and citizens, that the accused Negro would be sentenced to death without delay. Attorneys for the defense from Atlanta precipitated this lynching, local people claim, by filing exceptions to the judge's ruling against a change of venue, and thus delaying the trial. On the other hand the attorneys point out that the lynching proves that they were justified in demanding a change of venue.

IX. OPPONENTS OF LYNCHING SURPRISED AND COMPROMISED

Lynchings as Surprises to Leading White Citizens. Leading white citizens at Sherman, Marion, Thomasville, and many other communities where lynchings occurred in 1930 report that they never thought a lynching possible. A number of the most influential men of Sherman went to Dallas in mid-morning of May 9, and were surprised to find Dallas newsboys crying extras about the Sherman riot. In years gone by, all threatened lynchings had been frustrated, and therefore responsible citizens assumed that the large crowds of countrymen in Sherman would let the trial take its course. When the courthouse had been fired, scores of Sherman's leading people stood by and saw it burned to the ground, saw the militiamen driven into the protection of the jail house, saw the victim blasted from the vault, and saw his body tied to a car, dragged through the streets, and hanged in front of a Negro drug store and roasted, while numerous Negro properties burned. The undisputed reign of the mob shocked into utter inaction the cultured, refined element of this north Texas town.

Marion's citizens looked at the workings of the mob from six o'clock in the evening until past midnight. In Thomasville, mob demonstrations lasted from the middle of one afternoon until eight o'clock the next morning.

The Pressure for Conformity. In practically every community with a lynching in 1930, there were some people who were heartily opposed to what took place; but because of the overwhelming general justification of the lynchings, these persons usually remained silent. In every case those who participated in the mob or were in sympathy with it placed pressure upon any person who opposed or condemned the outbreak.

In Thomasville, for example, a business man who took an active part in protecting the Negro suspect was called a "nigger lover". Though incensed by this accusation, he continued his efforts on behalf of the law. Then one of his neighbors informed him: "As an old friend, I want to let you know that you are losing business mighty fast; unless you quit insisting on that nigger's protection you will have to close your shop." As a result, he decided to let things take their course. At Darien, a county commissioner who was advising that the Negro be left to the courts was told by a member of the mob: "Shut your mouth and keep it shut, and that right quick." In this way the unorganized efforts of leading citizens in support of law and order came to naught. However, threats of boycott or of personal reprisals were not always effective. In a

number of cases, vigorous editorials denouncing the mob appeared in the local papers, and in a few instances formal resolutions were passed by church and civic organizations.

The general tendency for the metropolitan press, South and North, to condemn any community that has a lynching, and seemingly to assume that everybody in the community was in hearty accord with the mob's actions, had the effect of further quieting those who were inclined to stand out against the mob rule. The local newspaper, as was the case of the "Montgomery Monitor" (Montgomery County, Georgia), may immediately denounce the mob and its action and say editorially that in view of what has happened, it is obvious that no one's life or property is safe. But a week later, when the same statement had been made by the papers of Atlanta, Macon, Savannah, and other cities, the "Monitor" came out in defense of "the large number" of excellent citizens in Montgomery County.

"The Sooner Forgotten the Better". After a time, the "best citizens" usually came to feel that "it is all over now, and the sooner it is forgotten, the better for the community". The general public either justified or condoned the lynching, and any individual or group who disagreed was made to suffer. Merchants, bankers, lawyers, and preachers faced a public boycott—or thought they did—should they take a stand in defense of law and order. Thus most of them joined in the general gentleman's agreement to let the matter drop.

When the anti-lynching minority agreed not to press the case against the lynchers, the general public joined it in guaranteeing complete protection to the community's "innocent" Negroes. At Honey Grove a handbill signed by 200 white taxpayers was widely distributed, promising protection to all innocent Negroes. In Sumter County, the leading planters in the Emelle community informed the Negroes that, if they would stay in their cabins, no harm would be done them. In Union and numerous other places definite gestures were made to assure the Negroes that no harm would befall the "innocent" members of their race.

No Community-Wide Efforts to Punish Lynchers. No determined community-wide effort for the conviction of the lynchers was made in any community where a lynching occurred in 1930. The nearest approximation was in Montgomery County, Georgia, where a mass meeting was held in the courthouse, with both whites and Negroes present. Scathing denunciations were heaped upon the dozen masked men who had beaten S. S. Mincey to death and a vigilance committee was set up, with chairman and secretary. Yet nobody subscribed or underwrote any money to be used in apprehending and prosecuting the guilty persons.

At Sherman, a group of leading citizens passed resolutions denouncing the mob leaders and pledged themselves to the preserva-

tion of law and order, including cooperation with the courts. This action may have been influenced in part by the fact that the town was under martial law and a citizens' committee was a necessary step in returning the control of affairs to the local civil authorities.

In Marion, Indiana, a small but active branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made strenuous efforts to secure the punishment of the mob leaders. Officers of this organization sent many requests for state action to the Governor and Attorney General. After a personal investigation of the Marion lynchings, Walter White, Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., provided state officials with specific charges against a score of alleged mob participants. But not one of the Marion mob leaders was sentenced by the courts.

Local Negroes, Too, Compromised into Silence. At Thomasville, Cartersville, Darien, Union, Tarboro, Sherman, and Bryan, property-owning, educated Negro citizens were in thorough disagreement with the lynchings. Yet in much the same way as the white anti-lynchers, they too were compromised into the position of saying nothing about what had happened. Only in Marion did Negroes voice a protest.

In Southern communities most Negro property owners have close friends among the influential white people, and their properties are generally secure in proportion as this sheltering protection is maintained. It is not surprising that the leading Negro doctor or dentist or drug store owner should remain quiet about the lynching when the few white people who might be expected to speak out are afraid to do so. A Negro doctor of Sherman, with an office within a block of the main retail district, was asked if he had said anything about the lynching. "Do you think that I want to move my office?" he replied.

Leading Negroes are further silenced by their belief that a protest might result in things being made harder for the mass of their race. They have been taught to fear and avoid an enraged white populace. The number of Negroes who own property and occupy places of influence in the community is very small. The vast majority, dependent upon the whites for employment, say nothing because they are afraid to say anything. Furthermore, they move largely within the traditions of the community, which leaves matters of this kind solely in the hands of the whites. Not infrequently one hears a white man or woman boasting that a particular Negro agreed heartily with the action of the mob, saying that he himself, if he had had an opportunity, would have joined in the lynching. It was found that most of these statements were of the bread and butter variety, the Negro having said what he knew was expected of him.

The natural effect of this type of situation on court proceedings is evident. When leading whites and Negroes alike are maneuvered into the position of silent acquiescence, it is no wonder that convictions are few and far between.

X. INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS LOOK AT LYNCHINGS

Apologists for Lynching. In every community where lynchings occurred in 1930, there were some people who openly justified what had been done. All walks of life were represented among the apologists—judges, prosecuting attorneys, lawyers, business men, doctors, preachers, teachers, mechanics, day laborers, and women of many types.

Most apologists for lynching, like the lynchers themselves, seemed to assume that the Negro is irredeemably inferior by reason of his race—that it is the plan of God that the Negro and his children shall forever be “hewers of wood and drawers of water”. With this weighty emphasis upon the essential racial inferiority of the Negro, it is not surprising to find the mass of whites ready to justify any and all means used to “keep the Negro in his place”. It is largely because of this that nothing will get larger headlines in the rural press, receive more discussion at cross-road stores, or draw a larger trial crowd, than some major conflict situation between a Negro and a white person.

A Vicious Protection Dogma. Regardless of the cause of a particular lynching, there were always those who defended it by the insistence that unless Negroes were lynched, no white woman would be safe, this despite the fact that only one-sixth of the persons lynched in the last thirty years were even accused of rape. Regardless of the accusation, an example must be made of the accused Negro for the sake of womanhood. Thus the apologist for lynching doubly betrays the Southern woman, first, in making her danger greater by exaggerating her helplessness, and second, in undermining the power of police and courts, her legitimate protectors.

Nominal Opposition to Lynchings by Many South-Wide Organizations. Nowadays there is hardly an important Southern religious conference or convention which does not make a pronouncement on some phase of race relations. Most of these point out that lynching is barbarous and unnecessary. In spite of this fact scarcely a single local unit of any of these organizations had a word to say about the lynchings in their several communities. In Sumter County, Alabama, Kemper and Bolivar Counties, Mississippi, Fannin County, Texas, Irwin and Bartow Counties, Georgia, no organization, civic or religious, condemned the mob murderers. The great gulf between the central official leadership of civic and religious organizations and their officers and members in the local

communities is similar to that which exists between the racial attitude of the landed aristocracy and that of the mass of whites.

The Southern Methodist General Conference and the Southern Baptist Convention have repeatedly denounced mob violence, and called upon all their ministers and members to assist in its eradication. Many of these churchmen are genuinely opposed to mob violence and throughout the years, a large proportion of the exponents of racial good-will have been church leaders.

On the other hand, the churches sometimes furnish apologists for lynching. The typical example is the churchman who points out that, after all, crime in the South is not as bad as in the North, and that the occasional inevitable lynching in the South is as nothing compared with the gang murders of Chicago and New York.*

Local Churches and Local Lynchings. Generally speaking, preachers and church officers, like other citizens in communities where lynchings occurred in 1930, were compromised into letting things take their course. To all practical purposes the church is usually of the community where it is located. The most common view expressed by ministers in lynching communities was that the lynching, though unfortunate, was inevitable. The minister usually felt that he would be faced with a serious division among his members should he refuse to conform. Southern Methodist and Southern Baptist ministers seemed more inclined to condone or justify the lynchings than Presbyterian and Episcopal ministers and Catholic priests. This may be due to the fact that the evangelistic and missionary zeal of the Southern Methodist and Baptist denominations have given them a very large constituency among the poorer whites who are traditionally antagonistic to Negroes.

At Thomasville, the most determined effort made in defense of law and order was by the Episcopal rector. In Sherman the mob was denounced publicly by three prominent ministers, Presbyterian, Disciples, and Catholic. In Brazos County, Texas, where half the church membership is Catholic, it is understood that no Catholics participated in the mob; it is not known, however, that they said anything against it. In Marion, Indiana, the majority of local churches ignored the lynching.

Attitudes of Large and Small Churches on Lynching. In practically every community, there was a marked difference between the attitude of the ministers of the larger churches and that of those serving the smaller ones. This difference is an aspect of the gulf which exists between the cultural and economic status of the leadership of these two types of churches. With the exception of the small Episcopal and Presbyterian congregations, which are generally made up of the more economically secure and more cultured ele-

*Such statements are made in spite of the fact that the homicide rate in many of the Southern States, according to crime statistics, is higher than that of any Northern State, and a half-dozen Southern cities, including Memphis, Atlanta, Augusta, and Jacksonville, have homicide rates in excess of any other cities in the United States.

ments, the most influential Southern white people were in the main identified with the largest Southern Baptist and Methodist churches.

The different attitudes of the larger and the smaller churches is clearly set forth in several of the case studies, particularly that of Sherman. There the pastor emeritus and the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, along with the pastor of the Disciples Church, stood out uncompromisingly in condemnation of mob rule. The pastors of the largest Methodist and Baptist congregations expressed disgust with what had happened, but nearly all the ministers of the smaller outlying churches of these denominations expressed sympathy with the mob. On the Sunday following the Sherman outbreak the minister of a small outlying church was taken to task and warned by his official board because of his remarks about the lynching; the pastor of the leading church of that denomination said substantially the same things with impunity.

The Church's Opportunity. The most fundamental way in which the church is related to the matter of mob violence in the South is that, not infrequently, the local church affords sanction to the general assumption that the Negro is innately inferior and of little importance. Upon this assumption ultimately rests the justification of lynching. Many ministers never mention the Negro except to relate ridiculous Negro stories to amuse their hearers.

Equally harmful is the silence which the local church often maintains with regard to the Biblical sources popularly used to sustain the theory of Negro inferiority. A minister who dares not inform his hearers that in the Biblical Ham story the curse was pronounced not by God but by drunken Noah, and that there is no mention of color in the story, could hardly be expected to say anything against a lynching when his hearers justify it on the basis of this story. In general, local church leaders were too anxious to maintain their church organizations and too well acquainted with their membership to take any determined stand for law and order. These characteristic attitudes indicate that the church needs to face frankly the human problems at hand. A Southern churchman, recently discussing the responsibility which rests upon the church in the prevention of lynching, said:

"In the absence of passion and excitement, the preacher should instill into the minds of his hearers the danger and crime of mob rule. People should be fortified in the quiet time against the crisis which may arise. There is a marked absence of any feeling of social responsibility in much of our preaching and church teaching of today. The individualistic theology of a large element of the Southern Baptist, Southern Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, must be corrected. A large class of our preachers should be constantly reminded to let the Egyptians and Israelites have a good long rest, and also the sins of the ancient Amalekites, and to deal in a Christian way with our own social and racial problems.

"Preachers and church leaders have their responsibilities for the

eradication of lynchings: in normal times, by instilling reverence for human life and personality; in an emergency situation, by co-operating with other exponents of law and order to keep the mob from its murderous goal. On account of their superiority of numbers, a heavier responsibility rests upon Southern Baptists and Southern Methodists than upon any other denominations."

Strategic Positions of Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist Denominations. Because of their wide-spread influence, Southern Baptists and Southern Methodists undoubtedly do have a peculiar responsibility in this connection. The leadership of these two organizations is assuming more and more responsibility in the general field of human welfare of which the race situation is a part. The decrease of lynchings in the past decades has been in part due to this growing sentiment.

There are still preachers, especially in rural sections and in industrial communities, who hold and advocate doctrines more akin to those of the Ku Klux Klan than to the simple New Testament teachings regarding human relations. Yet the churches theoretically subscribe to definite ethical principles which, if applied to race relations, would eradicate lynchings. Since the Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist denominations reach into every community and teach every class of white people, it would be of the greatest help if all ministers and lay leaders of these denominations would aggressively insist upon the application of these principles. For such a course there is ample precedent in their many outstanding leaders who insist that in all human relations human values should prevail.

Church Press on Lynching. The Southern church papers for the most part are definitely opposed to lynching. The editors of many church papers have taken determined stands against lynchings, in many cases courageously denouncing lynchings near at hand. This has sometimes met with the serious disapproval of the editor's constituents. But the church paper, like the church itself, may well take care lest, by failing to take a stand against injustice to Negroes in general, it leave intact the views which provide a justification for lynching and other expressions of racial antagonisms.

Reactions of Daily and Weekly Newspapers. The daily papers of the large Southern cities almost always denounced a lynching whether near at hand or far away—in some cases, however, the nearer at hand, the less vigorous the denunciation.

The county weeklies and dailies of the smaller cities throughout the South were inclined to condemn lynching in general, but often justified it in particular instances. To all practical purposes, the "Thomasville Enterprise" justified the lynching there. The papers of Bryan and Honey Grove indirectly condoned the local lynchings, while local papers frankly expressed satisfaction with the mob deaths at Cartersville, Tarboro, Scooba and Emelle. The edi-

tor of the weekly paper at Rosedale made no mention of the lynching, saying that since such things always result in hard feelings, she felt it best to leave them out of her paper. Both dailies at Marion, while pointing out that they thought Marion was the last place in the world where a lynching would take place, looked upon the occurrence as inevitable in view of what had happened.

The "Sherman Democrat"* is unique in that it alone of the papers in communities where lynchings occurred in 1930 condemned the mob from first to last and insisted that the courts punish its leaders adequately. The editor of the "Union (S. C.) Sentinel"** also distinguished himself by denouncing the mob. The small weekly at Darien looked upon the lynching there as inexcusable.

A large proportion of the Georgia county editors condoned or justified the lynching at Ocilla on February 1, 1930. Before the year was over Georgia had had five more lynchings. The pro-lynching position taken by a goodly proportion of the smaller papers doubtless encouraged their readers (many of whom read hardly anything else) to take the law into their own hands.

Contrasts of White and Negro Press. Whereas the Negro press in practically every case assumed the innocence of the person lynched, or that he was guilty of some crime less serious than that of which he was accused, the white press usually accepted as true all the rumored details of guilt. This tended on both sides to accentuate racial fear and antagonism. Both the white and Negro press could render a greater service by carefully confining their reports to facts.

*Because of his effective work, the young editor of this paper, Mr. J. Newell Johnston, deserves special mention.

**It was the editor of this paper, a former Baptist minister, who requested the Governor to send the National Guard. The Guard arrived thirty minutes too late. If the sheriff of Union County had manifested a similar interest there doubtless would have been no lynching.

XI. THE PRICE WE PAY

Citizenship Debased by Lynchings. The most obvious results of lynchings include the crucifixion of law and government, the barbaric and depraved behavior of the lynchers, and the untimely death of unconvicted people. It is axiomatic that a lynching makes high mockery of police officers, court officials, legislators, and state executives. Civilized countries require that death sentences be executed by some quick means. Mob deaths by slow fires, mutilations, and other tortures are indicative of a group sadism.

The after-effects of lynchings further affect citizenship. Leading citizens are compromised into letting the matter alone, thus affording the lynchers virtual immunity. The few indictments and fewer convictions of 1930 lynchers indicate that the courts are either grossly insincere or ineffective. "A lynching makes a lot of otherwise good people go blind or lose their memories", was the way one outspoken anti-lyncher put it. In several cases the accused persons were taken from the sheriff or other peace-officers in broad daylight by unmasked men. These officers later swore in grand jury hearings that they could not identify a single member of the mob. In other instances, leading local citizens were onlookers; they likewise gave no convicting evidence to the court. Thus lynching makes mockery of courts and citizenship. The state itself has been lynched.

Ethical Costs of Lynchings. The harmful social by-products of indifference to lynching are aggravated by the tendency to translate barbarisms and deceptions into virtues. When a thousand people, as at Ocilla, or ten or fifteen thousand, as at Sherman and Marion, stand for hours and look at Negro victims done to death, and then later come into court and refuse to place the guilt, the moral structure of the community has broken down. Where such a situation exists, either the courts are insincere or stupid in handling the case, or jurymen disregard their oaths, or citizens swear falsely. One or all of these elements in the community thus become morally responsible for the crime of the mob, equally with the mob itself.

Lynchings and Race Relations. The typical after-effects of a lynching put human relations on a low plane and aggravate whatever Negro exploitation already exists in the community. When a human life can be snuffed out at high noon in the presence of hundreds and thousands of on-lookers, who later in the courts deny any knowledge of the lynching, it is evident that every basis for decent human relationship in that community has been violated.

Such a disregard of an individual Negro's right to trial naturally

diminishes the faith of Negroes in their white neighbors and in the government. This loss of faith was expressed again and again in communities where lynchings occurred in 1930. On the other hand, by its very nature the justification of lynch-law encourages white people to assume that arbitrary force is the only way to deal with Negroes.

Direct and Indirect Financial Loss. Another obvious aftermath of 1930 lynchings was the direct financial loss. At Sherman the courthouse, valued at over \$65,000, and Negro properties at over \$50,000, were completely destroyed with no possibilities of collecting insurance, due to riot clauses in the policies. In Marion and numerous other places, jail house doors were broken down and other expensive equipment of prisons destroyed.

The indirect financial loss was even greater. The damage a lynching does to labor conditions, investment of capital, reputation of the community, and the like are inestimable. It was primarily because of the relation between mob outbreaks and the disturbance of labor conditions that the Gulf and Texas Refining officials of Port Arthur and Beaumont, Texas, informed the sheriff that they would summarily dismiss any white employee found participating in the mob activities.

The greatest indirect financial loss from lynchings was the unfavorable advertisement given the communities where they occurred. Every lynching gives unfavorable publicity not only to the immediate community involved, but to the whole section.* The lynchings at Sherman, Marion and Thomasville, for example, focused attention on these communities, not as places where labor conditions are settled and life and property are safe, but rather as places where human relations are unstable and life and property subject to the whims of the mob.

Because of the direct and indirect money losses due to lynchings, the adverse publicity which it brings, its deadening effect upon citizenship and government, and its anti-social implications, the intelligent leadership of every community should be eternally on guard against it.

*The press of other countries gives much space to these incidents. The United States, and especially the Southern States, are known throughout the world as the only country which lynches. Lynchings in the United States have done much to discredit American missionary efforts in Asia and Africa.

XII. SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FURTHER REDUCTION AND ERADICATION OF LYNCHING

We expect lynchings ultimately to be eradicated by the growth of a healthy public opinion that will no longer tolerate them. It is a matter of major importance to stimulate this growth. In the meantime, however, certain steps offer hope of immediate amelioration, as well as of steady progress toward the eventual goal.

Additional Legislation. The deans of the Southern law schools, composing the Commission on the Study of Legal Problems in Lynching, is now engaged in a thorough survey of this field and is soon to report its findings and recommendations. We do not deem it necessary or advisable to anticipate their conclusions.

It should be said, however, that the study of the 1930 lynchings clearly indicates the need of additional laws to insure the protection of prisoners and to facilitate the apprehension and conviction of mob members. The lynching of twenty-one victims last year, many of them taken out of the hands of the law, and the fact that of thousands of persons participating in these group murders, many of them openly, less than fifty were indicted and but four convicted and sentenced, forcibly suggest the need of certain legal expedients. Among those most worthy of consideration may be mentioned (a) compulsory removal of prisoners in certain types of cases; and (b) arbitrary power in the hands of the State authorities to extend protection and, if necessary, to investigate and prosecute in case of mob violence, to change the venue in the trial of lynchers, and to suspend officers who yield their prisoners to mobs.

Practical Measures for Preventing and Dispersing Mobs. Our case studies suggest, among others, the following needs:

Securer jails to keep out mobs, and adequate equipment to repel them—machine guns, gas bombs, etc. The consolidation of small, poor counties into larger and wealthier units might help greatly to this end.*

Sheriffs and other peace-officers should cease fraternizing and temporizing with mob leaders—a habit that has often encouraged them in their lawlessness.

Officers of rural counties might, with great advantage, form working agreements to assist each other in times of crisis. Citizens

*In 1930 there were in the Southern States over 250 counties with less than 10,000 population each, sixty-one of which had less than 5,000 population. Many of these counties are too poor to provide effective local government.

of influence may be called in to help prevent the formation of mobs and turn them from their purpose, or if necessary they may be deputized to resist them.

Experience indicates that no American community is immune from the danger of mob violence. Therefore, in every community, particularly in rural areas and small towns, a few good citizens should associate themselves in a compact to watch for threats of mob violence and to act together for its prevention. In many of the cases studied last year such a committee, adept and active, might easily have foreseen and prevented the threatened tragedy.

The relatives and friends of those against whom crimes have been committed may, and sometimes do, greatly help in the prevention of lynchings by urging that the law be allowed to take its course.

Public Opinion the Ultimate Deterrent. It need not be urged that laws at last are of little avail unless supported by public opinion. The various expedients suggested above may help to prevent lynchings, but they will contribute to the final end of "lynching" only as they help build a public opinion that will outlaw it.

The growth of such a public opinion is a matter of education, working through many agencies. In this process, the churches perhaps have major responsibility, as the arbiters of moral standards and the conservators of human values. In their official pronouncements, the larger church bodies have gone on record with statements that are entirely satisfactory. The practical results will be meager, however, until both ministers and laymen generally take these declarations seriously and begin to mediate them to their congregations. This, of course, is but one phase of the church's mission to teach the sacredness and value of human personality, irrespective of class or race.

Public schools and colleges should play an important part, through definite courses in race relations and by the inclusion of apt factual material in courses in history, literature, sociology, civics, and other subjects. Thus the rising generation may be afforded the basis for intelligent, fair-minded racial attitudes which it will hardly secure in any other way.

The press, a third great educational agency, has already demonstrated its value in the anti-lynching campaign. Our editorial leadership, it is confidently expected, will continue to render this service till the goal is reached.

In Conclusion. Lynching can and will be eliminated in proportion as all elements of the population are provided opportunities for development and are accorded fundamental human rights. Whether in the field of religion, education, economics, jurisprudence, or politics, anything which looks toward this end is a factor in reducing mob violence. For fundamentally lynching is an expression of a basic lack of respect both for human beings and for organized society.

Appendix

THE TWENTY-ONE LYNCHINGS IN 1930*

- February 1— Ocala, Irwin County, Georgia; James Irwin, colored; charge, rape and murder; taken from officers of the law and burned to death.
- April 23— Rosedale, Bolivar County, Mississippi; David Harris, colored; charge, murder; shot to death; report was that he did not come into the hands of the law.
- April 24— Walhalla, Oconee County, South Carolina; Allen Green, colored; charge, rape; taken from jail and shot to death.
- April 28— Plant City, Hillsborough County, Florida; John Houdaz, white; charge, bombing houses; taken from officer of the law and shot to death.
- May 9— Sherman, Grayson County, Texas; George Hughes, colored; charge, rape; Hughes placed in vault at courthouse for protection from mob; courthouse burned; body taken from vault, and dragged into Negro section of town where it was burned.
- May 18— Honey Grove, Fannin County, Texas; George Johnson, colored; charge, slaying landlord in altercation over a debt; shot to death by a sheriff's posse after he had barricaded himself in a cabin; his body was tied to an automobile and dragged through the town and later burned in front of a Negro church.
- May 31— Chickasha, Grady County, Oklahoma; Henry Argo, colored; charge, rape; mob broke into jail and prisoner was shot in the head; believing him dead,

*Data from the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, have been used throughout this report. These data, compiled largely from newspaper reports, have in the main been found quite satisfactory. Question might be raised, however, as to the correctness of classifying as lynchings the deaths at Honey Grove, Texas; Ailey, Georgia, and Thomas County, Georgia.

At Honey Grove the accused Negro was killed by a deputized posse while resisting arrest. The fact that a mob of a thousand was present when he was killed and that his corpse was dragged, face down, for miles and then burned in front of a Negro church probably justify its classification as a lynching.

Question might be raised also as to the proper classification of the deaths of S. S. Mincey, of Ailey, and Lacy Mitchell, of Thomas County, in that both were lacking in that general public participation which characterized the other nineteen lynchings of 1930. The deaths of Mincey and Mitchell, premeditated and executed by a small group of people employing private and secret means, were in many respects like the gang murders in the large cities.

- the mob permitted him to be taken to a hospital, which refused to receive him; he was then returned to the jail and while lying on a cot was fatally stabbed in the chest.
- June 17— Bryan, Brazos County, Texas; William Roane, colored; charge, attempted rape; shot to death; did not come into hands of law.
- June 21— Union, Union County, South Carolina; Daniel Jenkins, colored; charge, rape; shot to death; did not come into hands of law.
- July 4— Emelle, Sumter County, Alabama; Esau Robinson, colored; charge, killing man in altercation over automobile battery; Robinson was captured (came into hands of the law), but was left unguarded; taken by mob and body riddled with bullets; five other persons, two white men, two Negro men, and one Negro woman were killed.
- July 29— Ailey, Montgomery County, Georgia; S. S. Mincey, colored; no charge reported; beaten to death.
- August 7— Marion, Grant County, Indiana; Thomas Shipp and Abraham Smith, colored; charge, rape and murderous assault; taken from jail and hanged.
- August 15— Raymond, Hines County, Mississippi; George Robinson, colored; charge, resisting officer of the law; shot to death.
- August 19— Tarboro, Edgecombe County, North Carolina; Oliver Moore, colored; charge, rape; taken from jail and shot to death.
- September 8— Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia; George Grant, colored; charge, killing officer of the law; shot to death in jail.
- September 10— Scooba, Kemper County, Mississippi; Pigg Lockett and Holly White, colored; charge, robbing two tourists, a man and his wife; taken from officers of the law and hanged.
- September 25— Thomasville, Thomas County, Georgia; William Kirkland, colored; charge, attempted rape; taken from officers of the law and shot.
- September 28— Thomas County, Georgia; Lacy Mitchell, colored; no charge reported; star witness in case against two white men charged with raping a Negro woman; Mitchell was shot to death in his own home.

October 1— Cartersville, Bartow County, Georgia; John William Clark, colored; charge, killing officer of the law; taken from jail and hanged.

LYNCHINGS IN FIRST TEN MONTHS OF 1931

January 12— Maryville, Nodaway County, Missouri; Raymond Gunn, colored; charge, murder; taken from jail.

January 29— Schafer, McKenzie County, North Dakota; Charles Bannon, white; charge, murder; taken from jail and hanged.

March 22— Inverness, Sunflower County, Mississippi; Steve Wiley, colored; charge, attempted rape.

March 29— Vicksburg, Warren County, Mississippi; Elijah Johnson, colored; charge, attempted rape.

April 17— Union City, Obion County, Tennessee; George Smith, colored; charge, attempted rape.

August 2— Point a la Hache, Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana; Oscar Livingston, colored; charge, attempted rape.

August 5— Haynesville, Lowndes County, Alabama; Neal Guinn, colored; charge, attempted rape.

August 28— Blountstown, Calhoun County, Florida; Richard and Charles Smoke, father and son, colored; charge, attacking and beating a forest ranger.

THREATENED LYNCHINGS PREVENTED

1930-October 1, 1931*

Place, Date, Accusation, Number and Race of Persons Threatened and Steps Taken to Prevent Lynching

ALABAMA—

Troy, April 2, 1930, Negro, rape, force used to repel mob.

Luverne, April 5, 1930, Negro, wounding boy, removed to distant jail.

Huntsville, September 29, 1930, two Negroes, murder, National Guard used.

Mobile, October 22, 1930, Negro, murder, removed to distant jail.

Scottsboro, March 25, 1931, nine Negroes, attempted rape, National Guard used.

Mobile, April 30, 1931, Negro, rape, force used to repel mob.

ARKANSAS—

Devalls Bluff, March 23, 1930, Negro, attempted rape, removed to distant jail.

*Data from newspaper reports compiled by Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute.

Helena, September 25, 1930, Negro, attempted rape, removed to distant jail.

Batesville, April 9, 1931, white man, murder, removed to distant jail.

Pine Bluff, August 10, 1931, Negro, shooting into picnic party, removed.

McGhee, September 12, 1931, Negro, murder, removed to distant jail.

CALIFORNIA—

Los Angeles, December 29, 1930, two white men, rape, force used to repel mob.

COLORADO—

Pueblo, September 1, 1930, three Negroes, rape, removed to distant jail.

FLORIDA—

Gadsden County, January 1, 1930, Negro, rape, removed to distant jail.

Blountstown, April 21, 1930, Negro, killing officer, removed to distant jail.

Cassia,* March 21, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

Ocala, March 25, 1931, Negro, rape, removed.

Palatka, June 2, 1931, white man, murder, removed.

GEORGIA—

LaGrange, April 8, 1930, Negro, attempted rape, removed.

Sylvania, April 27, 1930, Negro, attempted rape, removed.

Dublin, August 15, 1930, Negro, auto collision, force used to repel mob.

Cartersville, September 15, 1930, Negro, killing officer, Guard used and prisoner removed.

Waycross, October 20, '30, Negro man and Negro woman, murder, removed.

Rome, February 2, '31, Negro, murder, removed.

Campbell County, April 5, '31, Negro, murder, removed.

Elberton, May 19, '31, six Negroes, rape, Guards called out.

Douglas, August 20, '31, Negro, murder, removed.

INDIANA—

Evansville, January 23, 1930, Negro, murder, removed to distant jail.

Anderson, July 8, '31, two Negroes, murder and robbery, removed.

KENTUCKY—

Fulton, May 14, 1930, white, murder, Guards augmented.

Mayfield, January 20, 1931, two Negroes, robbery, removed.

Hopkinsville, January 21, 1931, Negro, murder, force used to repel mob.

Hickman, April 20, 1931, Negro, rape, removed.

Elizabethtown, April 28, 1931, Negro, murder, force used to repel mob.

*Place not located.

LOUISIANA—

Caddo Parish, March 12, 1931, Negro, rape, removed to distant jail.

Shreveport, January 18, 1931, Negro, murder, Guard used.

Bogalusa, January 26, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

East Filicia Parish, August 27, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

MINNESOTA—

Anoka, September 7, 1931, Negro, attacking girl, removed.

MISSISSIPPI—

Vicksburg, January 6, 1930, three Negroes, wounding officer, removed.

Laurel, February 20, 1930, Negro, rape, removed.

Clarksdale, October 20, 1930, Negro, rape, National Guard used.

Quitman, January 2, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

Water Valley, May 6, 1931, Negro, murder, force used to repel mob.

Ocean Springs, February 24, 1931, Negro, rape, removed.

Quitman, August 18, 1931, Negro, robbery and wounding of man, removed.

Oxford, August 26, 1931, white, murder, removed.

MISSOURI—

Ironton, January 28, 1930, white, murder, prisoner removed.

St. Genevieve, October 15, 1930, two Negro men and one Negro woman, murder, prisoners removed.

Poplar Bluff, March, 1931, Negro, attempted rape, removed.

NORTH CAROLINA—

Wallace, January 19, 1930, Negro, murder, removed.

Concord, June 28, 1930, seven Negroes, rape, Guard used.

Greenville, September 18, 1930, white, murder, removed.

Southport, March, 1931, Negro, rape, removed.

OHIO—

Bucyrus,* January, 1931, three Negroes, murder, Guard used.

OKLAHOMA—

Pawnee, December 7, 1930, Negro, murder, force used to repel mob.

Wetonja,* June 25, 1931, Negro, murder, Guard used.

OREGON—

Medford, January 24, 1931, white, murder, Guard used.

PENNSYLVANIA—

Westchester, January 14, 1931, Negro, murder, Guard used.

SOUTH CAROLINA—

Graniteville, May 18, 1930, two Negroes, rape, removed.

Edgefield, June 10, 1930, Negro, rape, removed.

Lexington, January 5, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

*Place not located.

Lexington, January 9, 1931, three whites, murder, prisoners removed.

Lexington, January 20, 1931, six Negroes, murder, Guard used.

Georgetown, January 31, 1931, two whites, killing man in auto accident, prisoners removed to distant jail.

Anderson, January 18, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

Lockhart, September 14, 1931, Negro, murder, force used to repel mob.

Hampton, July 22, 1931, Negro, wounding man, force used to repel mob.

TENNESSEE—

Bolivar, January 28, 1930, Negro, rape, force used to repel mob.

Union City, April, 1930, Negro, rape, National Guard used.

Lawrenceburg, September, 1930, Negro, rape, removed.

Trenton, April 19, 1931, Negro, murder, removed.

Bolivar, February 20, 1930, Negro, murder, removed.

Tiptonville, June 1, 1931, white, rape, National Guard used.

Springfield, July 21, 1931, Negro, wounding officer, force used to repel mob.

TEXAS—

Brownwood, May 16, 1930, white, murder, prisoner removed to distant jail.

Grandbury, May 22, 1930, Negro, wounding man, removed.

Port Arthur, June 27, 1930, Negro, rape, removed to strong jail.

Shamrock, July 14, 1930, Negro, murder, removed.

Arlington, December 7, 1930, Negro, murder, removed.

Mount Pleasant, January 31, 1931, Negro, murder, Guard used.

Marshall, March 17, 1931, Negro, attempted rape, Guard used.

Conroe, August 17, 1931, two Negroes, murder, Guard used.

VIRGINIA—

Alexandria, January 1, 1930, Negro, killing officer, Guard used.

WEST VIRGINIA—

Clarksburg, September 20, 1931, white, murder, force used to repel mob.

TABLE I
Lynchings, Whites and Negroes—1889-1929*

Year	Whites	Negroes	Total
1889	81	95	176
1890	37	90	127
1891	71	121	192
1892	100	155	255
1893	46	155	201
1894	56	134	190
1895	59	112	171
1896	51	80	131
1897	44	122	166
1898	25	102	127
1899	23	84	107
1900	8	107	115
1901	28	107	135
1902	11	86	97
1903	17	86	103
1904	4	83	87
1905	5	61	66
1906	8	65	73
1907	3	60	63
1908	7	93	100
1909	14	73	87
1910	9	65	74
1911	8	63	71
1912	4	61	65
1913	1	50	51
1914	3	49	52
1915	13	54	67
1916	4	50	54
1917	2	36	38
1918	4	60	64
1919	7	76	83
1920	8	53	61
1921	5	59	64
1922	6	51	57
1923	4	29	33
1924	0	16	16
1925	0	17	17
1926	7	23	30
1927	0	16	16
1928	1	10	11
1929	3	7	10
TOTAL	787	2,916	3,703
1930	1	20	21

*Data secured from "The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932", Page 293.

The deaths from the race riots in Atlanta, Chicago, Tulsa, and other places are not classified as lynchings; neither are gang murders in cities South or North. The chief distinction between a lynching and a gang murder is that, whereas a gang murder is premeditated and carried out by a few people in conspired secrecy from constituted authorities, a lynching is usually spontaneous and carried out in a public fashion with scores, hundreds, and not uncommonly thousands of eye-witnesses. Gang murderers operate in secrecy to evade the law; lynchers operate in the open and publicly defy the law.

TABLE II
Lynchings Per Ten Thousand Population—1900-1929*

STATE	LYNCHINGS PER TEN THOUSAND NEGRO POPULATION					
	Lynchings Per Ten Thousand Total Population**	Lynchings Per Ten Thousand White Population**	Black Belt Counties	Counties With 1/4 to 1/2 Negroes	Counties With Less Than 1/4 Negroes	State
FLORIDA	1.48	2.22	3.51	4.34	5.77	4.46
OKLAHOMA	.27	.29	---	---	---	3.87
ARKANSAS	.76	1.03	2.12	2.18	6.28	2.88
TEXAS	.43	.51	3.79	1.82	1.94	2.47
GEORGIA	1.01	1.71	2.24	2.83	2.25	2.45
MISSISSIPPI	1.29	2.82	2.11	2.91	3.87	2.41
KENTUCKY	.24	.27	---	1.47	2.40	2.23
LOUISIANA	.87	1.45	2.02	2.12	2.96	2.11
MISSOURI	.12	.13	---	---	---	2.10
ALABAMA	.52	.86	1.10	1.18	2.57	1.31
TENNESSEE	.32	.39	.52	1.09	2.35	1.05
SOUTH CAROLINA	.41	.81	.79	.80	.00	.78
NORTH CAROLINA	.14	.21	.43	.40	.69	.46
VIRGINIA	.11	.17	.40	.47	.27	.38
TOTALS	.51	.69	1.64	1.71	2.44	1.84

*Data compiled from detailed record of lynchings by counties from Tuskegee Research Department, and average population by states and counties for 1900 to 1930 from U. S. Census publications.

**It will be observed in Table I that approximately nine-tenths of the persons lynched since 1900 have been Negroes. The only reason for presenting the number of lynchings per ten thousand total population and per ten thousand white population is to give a measure of the degree in which the general public and the white populace of each of the Southern States have shared in the guilt of lynching Negroes.

TABLE III
Accusations Against Persons Lynched*—1889-1929

Year	Homicide	Felonious Assault	Rape	Attempted Rape	Rob'ry & Theft	Insult to Whites	All Other Causes
1889.....	51	5	34	4	19	—	63
1890.....	25	2	26	2	5	—	67
1891.....	52	2	38	2	28	—	70
1892.....	88	4	37	12	38	2	74
1893.....	56	2	34	4	10	2	92
1894.....	73	2	42	10	16	6	41
1895.....	71	1	29	13	20	1	36
1896.....	42	9	29	6	14	—	31
1897.....	68	5	25	9	23	2	34
1898.....	74	5	11	7	8	2	20
1899.....	56	—	5	6	6	—	34
1900.....	43	10	18	13	7	—	24
1901.....	48	9	21	8	21	1	27
1902.....	43	7	19	11	1	—	15
1903.....	53	8	16	7	—	1	19
1904.....	36	4	14	6	1	2	24
1905.....	34	4	15	4	2	—	7
1906.....	24	7	16	14	1	1	9
1907.....	20	7	13	11	4	1	7
1908.....	50	10	14	6	4	3	32
1909.....	28	12	3	18	1	3	5
1910.....	38	6	16	8	2	2	2
1911.....	37	4	9	6	1	4	10
1912.....	37	6	10	2	1	3	5
1913.....	20	11	5	5	2	1	8
1914.....	30	8	6	1	1	—	6
1915.....	26	10	11	—	9	3	8
1916.....	20	7	3	9	8	2	5
1917.....	6	2	7	5	2	2	14
1918.....	28	2	10	6	2	—	16
1919.....	28	3	9	10	1	6	26
1920.....	22	9	15	3	—	3	9
1921.....	19	7	16	3	—	3	16
1922.....	15	5	14	5	4	2	12
1923.....	5	5	6	1	1	1	14
1924.....	4	2	5	2	—	3	—
1925.....	8	1	4	2	—	1	1
1926.....	13	3	2	3	1	1	7
1927.....	7	2	2	3	—	—	2
1928.....	5	3	2	—	—	—	1
1929.....	1	3	3	—	—	2	1
TOTAL.....	1,394	214	614	247	264	66	894
1930.....	5	—	8	2	3	—	3

*Data secured from "The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932", Page 294.

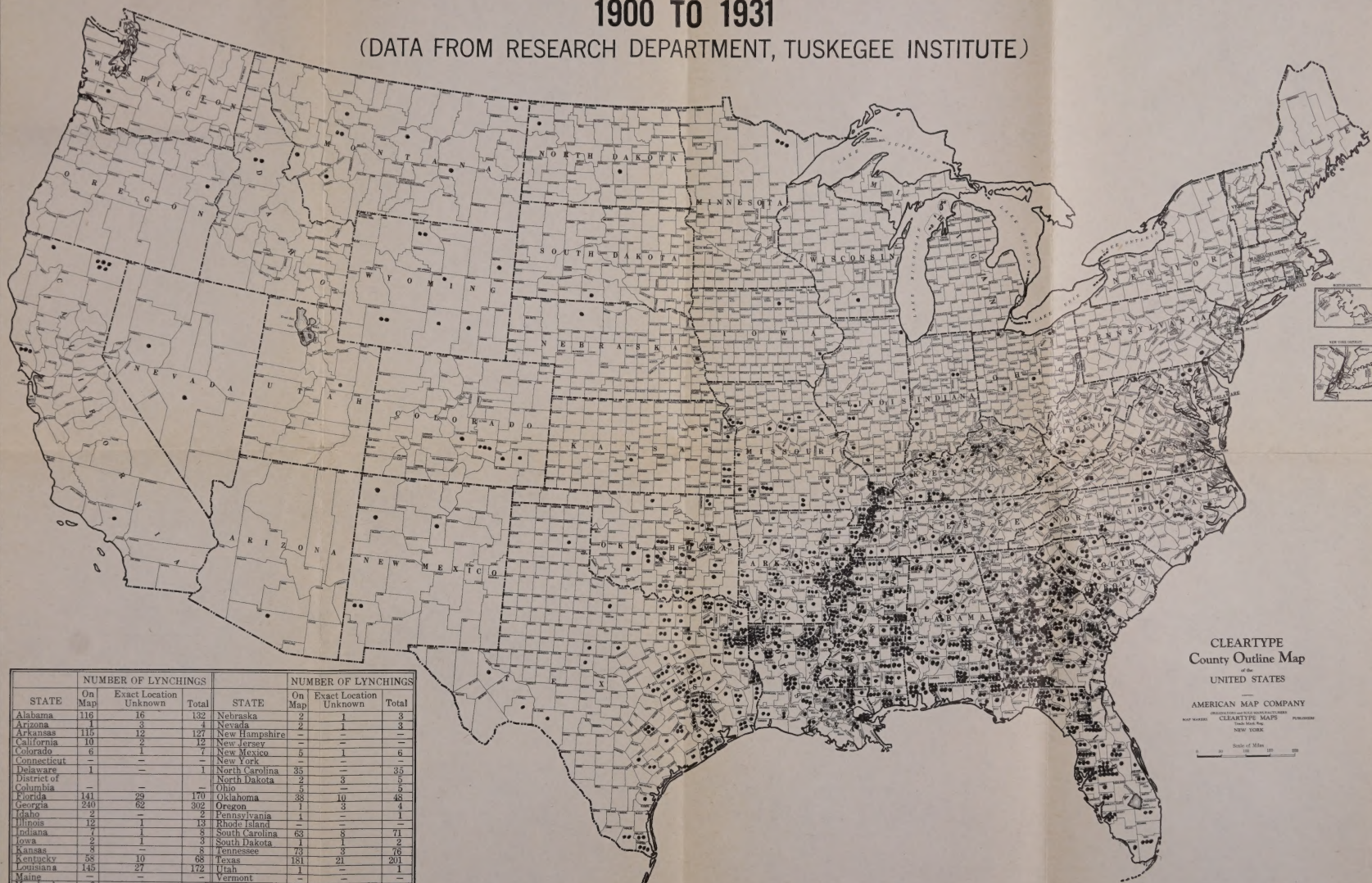
TABLE IV
Lynchings and Preventions of Reported Threatened
Lynchings—1914-1929*

Year	No. Persons Lynched	No. Lynchings Prevented
1914	52	16
1915	67	19
1916	54	18
1917	38	18
1918	64	13
1919	83	37
1920	61	56
1921	64	72
1922	57	58
1923	33	52
1924	16	45
1925	17	39
1926	30	33
1927	16	42
1928	11	24
1929	10	27
TOTAL	673	569
1930-'31 (to Oct. 1)	30	88

*Data secured from "The Negro Year Book, 1931-1932", Page 294.

LYNCHINGS BY STATES AND COUNTIES IN THE UNITED STATES 1900 TO 1931

(DATA FROM RESEARCH DEPARTMENT, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE)



STATE	NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS			STATE	NUMBER OF LYNCHINGS		
	On Map	Exact Location Unknown	Total		On Map	Exact Location Unknown	Total
Alabama	116	16	132	Nebraska	2	1	3
Arizona	1	3	4	Nevada	2	1	3
Arkansas	115	12	127	New Hampshire	—	—	—
California	10	12	22	New Jersey	—	—	—
Colorado	6	1	7	New Mexico	5	1	6
Connecticut	—	—	—	New York	—	—	—
Delaware	1	—	1	North Carolina	35	—	35
District of Columbia	—	—	—	North Dakota	2	3	5
Florida	141	29	170	Ohio	—	—	—
Georgia	240	62	302	Oklahoma	33	10	43
Idaho	2	—	2	Oregon	1	3	4
Illinois	12	1	13	Pennsylvania	1	—	1
Indiana	7	1	8	Rhode Island	—	—	—
Iowa	2	1	3	South Carolina	63	8	71
Kansas	8	—	8	South Dakota	1	1	2
Kentucky	58	10	68	Tennessee	73	3	76
Louisiana	145	27	172	Texas	181	21	201
Maine	—	—	—	Utah	1	—	1
Maryland	6	—	6	Vermont	—	—	—
Massachusetts	—	—	—	Virginia	25	—	25
Michigan	—	—	—	Washington	1	1	2
Minnesota	3	1	4	West Virginia	12	1	13
Mississippi	217	68	285	Wisconsin	—	—	—
Missouri	40	1	41	Wyoming	8	1	9
Montana	5	1	6				
				TOTAL	1595	291	1886

CLEARTYPE
County Outline Map
UNITED STATES

AMERICAN MAP COMPANY

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

Map No. 5241-128

NOTICE: This is a reproduction of the

map as shown in the original and is not

to be used for any purpose other than

reference.

Copyright, American Map Co., New York

